FEBRUARY, 1936

THE CRISIS

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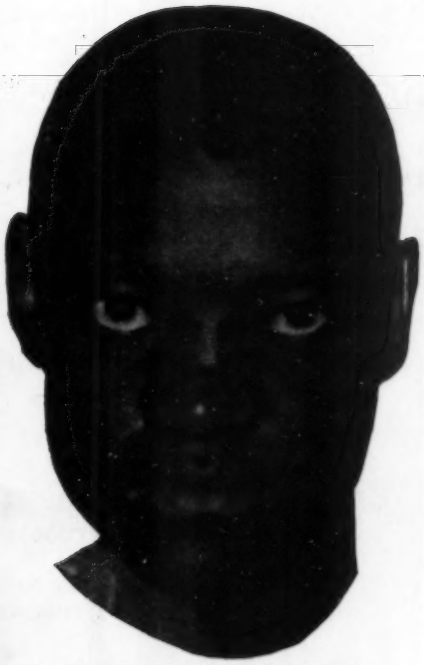

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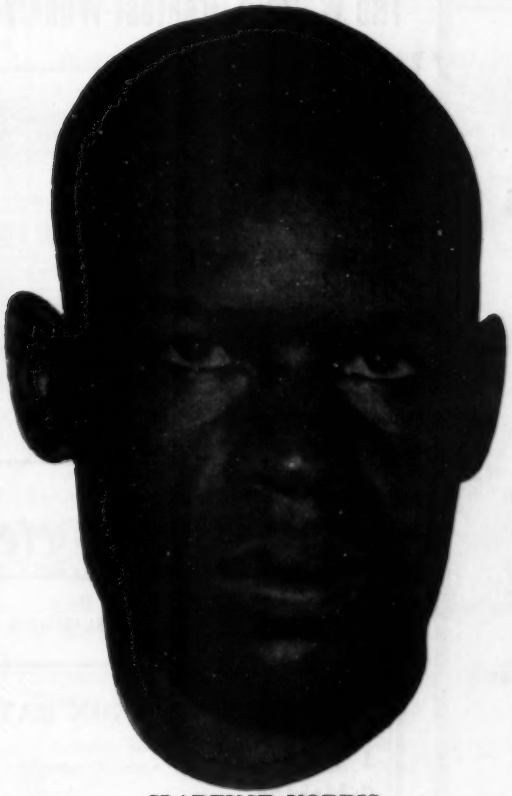

CLARENCE NORRIS

(Alabama Wants to Kill Them for Nothing—See pages 37, 47)

JEW HATRED AMONG NEGROES

Rabbi Edward L. Israel

COMMUNISM AND PEACE

J. G. St. Clair Drake, Jr.

DUKE ELLINGTON

Chester Rosenberg

The Choice of A Nation

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Two More Lynched In Mississippi

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Acting Editor
ADVISORY BOARD
J. E. Spingarn *Dr. Louis T. Wright* *James Weldon Johnson* *Lewis Gannett* *Walter White*

Volume 43, No. 2 *Whole No. 302*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at* 69 *Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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NEXT MONTH

BORAH—WHAT *DOES* HE STAND FOR?

By Louis L. Redding

The feature article of the March Crisis will be this revealing study of the record of Senator William E. Borah of Idaho on the Constitution and on the Negro. Mr. Borah, who, in December, began activity to enter the race for the Republican nomination for President has an amazing record on the Negro. This article, for Negro citizens, is easily the most important document of this political year.

There will be a story, "The Conversion of Harvey" by Octavia B. Wynbush.

•

Also in the March issue will be a short piece by Harold Preece on the organization of sharecroppers in the southern states, called "Epic of the Black Belt."

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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THE COVER

Haywood Patterson and Clarence Norris were to have gone on trial in the famous Scottsboro case in Decatur, Ala., the week beginning January 20. The general opinion throughout the world, except for some sections of the South, is that the state is trying to electrocute these boys for a crime they never committed. Twice has the supreme court of the United States reversed their convictions and once has an Alabama judge set aside a conviction, asserting that the evidence did not warrant it.

In THE CRISIS Next Month—

BORAH—What *Does* He Stand For?

By Louis L. Redding

Do you know that Senator Borah declared for the repeal of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution saying it was a "mistake" to give Negroes the vote?

Do you know what Senator Borah said about Negro women and the ballot during the debate on women's suffrage?

Do you know what Senator Borah said about Negro soldiers after the 25th Infantry — Houston, Tex., affair?

Do you know that Senator Borah "sympathizes deeply" with the South because it has to "bear the burden" of the Negro? And that he thinks the North "can afford to listen to the requests of our southern friends?"

Do you know that Mr. Borah, if President, would veto anti-lynching laws without giving the courts a chance to pass on them?

Read All About the "Liberal" Senator from Idaho in THE CRISIS for March

Mr. Redding has written his article STRICTLY FROM THE RECORD of Mr. Borah in the U. S. Senate. Negroes and their friends cannot afford to miss this picture of the man who wants to be President. We don't think the Republican leaders in certain states can afford to miss it, either.

OUT FEBRUARY 25, 1936

THE CRISIS

69 FIFTH AVENUE **NEW YORK, N. Y.**

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Jew Hatred Among Negroes

By Edward L. Israel

At least two of the minority groups in this country ought to understand each other better and unite against the common enemies of both. This article is a beginning of the frank appraisals which should come from members of both groups

AS one of the by-products of Hitlerism, there seems to be a great increase in anti-Semitism among Negroes. When one considers that the Nazis have no more, or possibly even less regard for the Negro than the Jew, this becomes a somewhat ironical state of affairs. But then, both Negro and Jew have reason to know that there is much that is ironical in the field of racial prejudices.

Let us look first at the evidence which prompts me to draw my conclusion concerning this growth of anti-Jewish feeling among the colored people. There have been outbreaks such as the Harlem riotings, when the chief target of Negro wrath seemed to be the Jew. Again, only a few days ago, a prominent Negro social worker told me of the growing disinclination of the colored members of his inter-racial board to have Jews as white representatives. That this anti-Jewish feeling is not confined to the Negro intelligenzia is demonstrated by the "Situations Wanted" columns of a paper like the Baltimore *Sun*, where more and more applications for domestic service by Negroes stipulate that they want to work for "Gentiles only."

My personal experience brought me a keen insight into this feeling several nights ago when I addressed a Negro forum. The subject was a symposium on the question, "Germany's Treatment of the Jews: Is It Justified?" I spoke for the negative, naturally. The other speaker was a very fine gentleman, a professor of sociology, who did not sympathize with Nazi anti-Semitism but who treated the subject objectively, endeavoring to explain the historical events which led to the development of Nazism's racial policy.

Hitlerism Applauded

From the very outset I detected a spontaneity in the applause which was accorded the Hitlerite protagonist. It was something more than generous hospitality to a person who, for scientific reasons, was taking an apparently unpopular side. There seemed to be a yearning on the part of certain sections of the audience to pour certain perceptible sympathies into that applause. I had been warned that some such feeling existed. At the time of my invitation I was told by a member of the forum committee that "some of our people feel that Hitler is justified in his treatment of the Jews." I had hardly expected, however, that it would be so pronounced.

You see, my own activities in connection with the Negro have for a long time been most sympathetic. To me, these endeavors have not been mere humanitarian sentimentalism. I have felt that Negro and Jew face so many kindred problems that I was, in a sense, fighting my own battle in fighting his. In this direction, I was the first and one of the very few Maryland ministers to denounce the Salisbury and Princess Anne lynchings, in return for which I received many threats, anonymous and otherwise. I have prevented my congregational board from signing a Negro segregation pact in the neighborhood where our synagog is located, although many white Christian churches have signed. I challenegd a former official of my congregation to resign when he objected to my speaking to Negro groups on the grounds that "it tended to associate Negro and Jew in the public mind." I have refused to permit any segregated seating of Negroes who occasionally visit my synagog when a lecture subject of interest to them draws some of them to our Sunday morning service. I appeared before the U. S. Senate Committee in defense of the anti-lynching law. These are only some of the activities which express my basic attitude.

Department Store Exclusion

It was therefore quite a shock to me to be confronted personally with the evidence of Negro anti-Semitism. My anguish increased as the unfolding events of the evening at the forum continued to prove the truth of my perceptions. In the course of the question period I was asked why Jewish department store owners in Baltimore refused to sell to Negroes. This condition is true in one or two instances. It is also true that several Jewish department stores have no such attitude and that, moreover, the department stores controlled by non-Jews almost universally exclude Negroes. I explained my own complete lack of sympathy with this situation, told of my efforts at changing it, and announced that some of these merchants had told me that they would welcome a general agreement of all stores to eliminate all racial discrimination. I pointed out that it was the 90 per cent non-Jewish trade which was primarily responsible for this anti-Negro stand, and while I did not consider this a moral justification of the merchant's action, the real solution of the Negro problem lay not with the Jewish minority but with the anti-Negro Gentile majority, even to the extent of challenging the segregation of Negroes in Christian churches. This latter sally was greeted with obvious resentment by some of the audience who for some inexplicable reasons find themselves able to reconcile their Christianity with race segregation.

I had casually mentioned the Olympic games, and the agitation against their being held in Berlin. I explained that to me this was not primarily a Jewish issue but one which concerned every true lover of democracy, and especially all members of group minorities. It was a struggle against Nazi regimentation with its cruel treatment of those who supported democratic ideals. The chairman of the meeting, of her own accord, introduced a motion to send a telegram of protest against the holding of the Olympics in Berlin. If there was any group in which I imagined such a motion would pass without a dissenting voice, it was here among Negroes. One has only to read Hitler's "Mein Kampf" with its vicious aspersions on Negro blood to realize that his detestation of the Negro is, if anything, more bitter than his hatred of the Jew.

(*Continued on page* 50)

Comment Invited

THE CRISIS realizes that this article by Rabbi Israel may move some of our readers to comment. THE CRISIS will be pleased to print letters on the article or upon the subject which it discusses. We prefer that the comments be not more than 300 words and we reserve the right to use excerpts only from very long letters. The deadline for the March issue is February 4 and the April issue March 4.

Duke Ellington

By Chester Rosenberg

THE coming of autumn has always brought with it an influx into the United States, of leading European conductors who come here to direct symphony orchestras through the formal concert season. In the summer the United States partially reciprocates by sending its popular jazz bands to Europe to demonstrate in music halls and night clubs their country's one and only original contribution to the field of music. Europe, consequently, has heard the smooth, suave music of such maestros as Paul Whiteman, Rudy Vallee and Guy Lombardo. It has also heard Negro syncopators who scorn sweet, stereotyped melodies and easy orthodox rhythms. But it was not until the autumn of 1933 that Europe was given the chance to hear real, *hot*,* pulsing music. It was in that year that Duke Ellington sailed from New York on the S. S. *Olympic* with his fourteen-piece band to play in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and later, on the continent.

The author of this sketch of the popular maestro of syncopation is a contributing editor to University of Virginia student publications

Before Royalty

While on his European tour, Ellington played before royalty on several occasions—a considerable distinction for one of his race. But the Duke Ellington that attended the intimate parties of the Prince of Wales in "top hat, white tie, and tails" was a very different figure from the man who chatted amicably with us on the running board of an old Ford coupe back of the Paramount Theater in Charlottesville, Va. Dressed in an old polo shirt, baggy dark pants and no hat, Ellington still retained the quiet dignity that distinguishes him. He spoke without the slightest trace of accent.

Edward Kennedy ("Duke") Ellington lives in a Harlem apartment at 381 Edgecombe avenue—thus giving New York City a legitimate basis for its claim to being the jazz capital of the world. He makes his home with his parents, a sister, Ruth, and a sixteen-year-old son, Mercer, who prefers drawing to music—even his father's. Edward Kennedy Ellington was born in the nation's capital on April 29, 1899. His father was a blue print maker at the Washington, D. C., Navy Yard. At the age of six he began studying the piano, getting his preliminary instructions under a Mr. Grant and a Mrs. Chinkscales.

During the period he was at Armstrong high school, he displayed a decided tendency to veer away from music toward painting, etching, and all kinds of athletics, finally ending his four years with a major in art. Upon his graduation from this institution he was awarded a fine arts scholarship to the Pratt Institute in New York City. But he never made use of this scholarship, for his interest was turned, with the assistance of daily maternal swats on the ear, to the impending prospects of a musical career. By the time he was fourteen he was playing pieces of jazz by ear, slipping them into his daily routine of classical pieces whenever discretion permitted. At sixteen he was playing for Washington society, with Louis Thomas' orchestra, often playing at functions in and around Charlottesville, Orange, Culpepper, and Warrenton.

It was about this time that jazz invaded the North; the Original Dixieland band was at the height of its popularity in New York City, and in 1918 the late Lieutenant Jim Europe, beloved Negro bandmaster of the A. E. F., returned from overseas with a group of men who had discovered the benefits of the New Orleans nerve-tonic long before the War.

Followed Jim Europe

The unusual success of Jim Europe and the Original Dixieland band firmly convinced Ellington that jazz was his only medium. In 1923 he toured the country with one of the earlier and more raucous bands directed by Wilbur C. Sweatman, a tremendous Negro who specialized in playing *hot*, syncopated tunes with three clarinets in his mouth at one time. Ellington was so impressed by the display of interest shown by the public in this band, that when he returned to Washington a short time later he formed his own band, the Washingtonians, with Trumpeter Arthur Whetsel, Clarinetist Barney Bigard, Saxophonist Otto Hardwick and Drummer Sonny Greer. These men are still playing with his present combination.

The local success achieved by the Washingtonians prompted Ellington to try his luck in New York City. He opened at the Kentucky Club, but things did not go so well. Success in New York, he found, required press-agentry. Fortunately, before it was too late, a press agent appeared. Irving Mills, although not a musician, is a master showman. Once he had heard the band play he realized that the problem was merely one of sales, and that with a larger orchestra and a more distinctive location, Ellington would be a real drawing card. Mills, at one time considered forming a bureau to be known as the Royal Orchestras—with Benny "King" Carter as number one orchestra. Ellington, therefore, became "Duke" Ellington, a sobriquet earned in his high school days. The Royal Orchestras never materialized, but Mills increased Ellington's band to twelve pieces and installed him in the Cotton Club, the "hottest spot in Harlem." The few extra men were what Ellington needed to give vent to his ideas; the radio spread his name throughout the country—and Duke Ellington was made.

There is only one other Negro bandmaster, possibly two, who has even come close to attaining the success that is Ellington's. They are Cab Calloway and Louis Armstrong. These two are predominantly showmen; Ellington is an earnest, all-around musician. Calloway plays no instrument, sings in a high-pitched voice and relies partly for his effects on his fascinating, snow-white dress suit with the ludicrously long tails which he wears as he weaves gracefully before his orchestra. Armstrong has never really built up a band. He is content to strut before any good, *hot* band as long as he can introduce himself as "The Reverend Satchel Mouth" and proceed to triple-tongue a cornet at incredible speed. He cannot play *straight* if he tries. Calloway and Armstrong are sensational; but they are not to be compared with Ellington.

Portrays Negro Emotions

We asked Duke Ellington for the real reason why he went into music instead of art. His answer was: "I saw the chance of a lifetime to vividly and forcefully illustrate my own individuality—and the individuality of the Negro race—in original creations." Ellington feels that his race has a certain musical element which has yet to be interpreted. He believes that developed Negro music has only just begun. The songs that he has created, of which *Mood Indigo*,

*The word *hot*, as used in this article, does not necessarily mean loud and fast; hot music may well be soft and languid.

Black and Tan Fantasy, Solitude, It Don't Mean a Thing, and *Sophisticated Lady,* are a few of the best known, are attempts on his part to portray in musical compositions the emotions and sentiments of the Negro race.

Ellington invariably uses some purely Negro theme for his creations. He depends entirely upon the inexhaustible wealth of folklore legends and songs to furnish him with material for compositions. His compositions are, in the main, the melodies of a lamenting people, pouring out their longings, their griefs and their aspirations—in the one great universal language.

But Ellington's music should not be confused with the so-called ragtime music and the spiritual song. The chief characteristic of the ragtime is rhythm; the chief characteristic of the spiritual is melody. In the riotous rhythms of the ragtime the Negro expresses his keen response to the sheer joy of living; in the spiritual he voices his sense of beauty and his deep religious feelings. *Hot* jazz, as created and played by Ellington, is an extraordinary combination of theses two—with something entirely his own added.

Many of the various radio and tea-dancing idols of the day, such as Rudy Vallee, Ray Noble, and Guy Lombardo, have made a fortune dispensing popular ballads to their vast public by tempering themselves to the tastes of the moment. Duke Ellington and his world-famous Negro orchestra, on the other hand, always offer rich, original music, music of pulse and gusto, stemming out of the lyricism of the Negro, and played with great virtuosity. The public is rapidly tiring of the sing-song, monotonous, mother, sister, sweetheart sentimental songs. Jazz, as interpreted by Duke Ellington and his boys, offers unique rhythm, curious groupings of words, and melodies which give the ultimate zest of unexpectedness.

Men like Ellington—and there are surprisingly few—love their work; when they play for pleasure they inevitably play *hot*. There is an intense rivalry among them, but this is offset by a mutual admiration rarely found elsewhere. Unfortunately, the chances for these men to play *hot* are despairingly infrequent. There has been, during the past few years, less demand than ever for *hot* music. Leading hotels and night clubs allow practically none at all to be played. The radio offers true jazz, but not in conspicuous quantities. Paradoxically enough, the jazz which we hear today is the best ever.

This can best be explained by the fact that jazz has never actually been dependent upon wide-spread popularity. There has always been a sufficient number of laymen sharing the musician's pleasure in this type of music to keep it from disappearing from the repertoires of contemporary musical organizations. Possibly the best reason, however, is that the years have brought jazz more and more musical sophistication and technical ability. The popular white orchestras of today usually compromise by playing both *sweet* and *hot* music. This is true of Ray Noble, Glen Gray, Hal Kemp, Fred Waring, and countless others. Jazz has become a science; Ellington, perhaps more than anyone else, has mastered it best.

Buddy Bolden

When an authentic history of *hot* music is written it will include the name of a legendary Buddy Bolden, a Negro trumpeter from the Rampart Street section of New Orleans, who as long ago as 1910 persisted in interpolating into the music, wild, melancholy notes not written in his scores. His frenzied improvizations made him famous. Possibly it was the same frenzied improvizations that caused him to be committed to an insane asylum later in his life. Nevertheless, as far as practicable purposes are concerned, it was men of Bolden's caliber, often men who could not read music, yet who were polished musicians, who with flourishes of their own, took the starch out of ragtime and injected those sad, unorthodox harmonies which have echoed for years on the plantations. All true *hot* jazz is now built around passages where the musicians improvise—thus exercising their personal fancies. Jazz encourages "ad-lib" variations by the players. It is in this that lies the difference between true jazz and the ordinary dance music, as well as the pretentious concert-hall music of Gershwin.

Duke Ellington

Ellington does not follow any definite set of rules for orchestration. He has bettered other jazz leaders by composing a good half of the music his orchestra plays, and by stamping his own personality unmistakably on the rest. He has, in fact, become as well known for his versions of other composers' songs as he has for his own. Among the most popular of this group are: *Three Little Words, Limehouse Blues, I Can't Give You Anything But Love Baby,* and the score of *The Blackbirds of 1928*. R. D. Darell, writing in the magazine *Disques* declares; "To me . . . the most daring experiments of the modernists rarely approach the imaginative originality, mated to pure musicianship of a dozen arresting moments in Ellington's works."

Ellington's arrangements—he does all his arrangements himself—are apparently tossed off in a careless, spontaneous manner. Actually, though, they have been carefully worked out at rehearsals, which are frequently called for three o'clock in the morning, after the night's work is done. No scores are visible. Ellington will sit himself at the piano, play a theme over, try a dozen different variations. Sometimes he shows the men what he thinks the saxophones might play here and the brasses here. Spidery Freddy Jenkins may see an ideal spot for a *hot,* double-quick solo. Big William Brand may be seized with a sudden desire to slap his double bass. Perhaps Barney Bigard, the solo clarinetist, suggests a rolling phrase on the reeds at a certain point. Duke Ellington lets each man have his say. After three to four hours of this informal practice, a new number has been completed—a number which will make thousands thrill to its tantalizing notes. Ellington believes that his men memorize more easily this way than by playing with prepared

(*Continued on page* 60)

Storm in the Southland

By Arthur Randall, Jr.

IT was an October rain. Sudden, deluging, cold, giving little warning of its coming, it viciously attacked the land, churned up red eddies in the red soil, swept through the sparse, naked trees, and beat upon the tar-paper shack, that stood like a solitary sentinel near the boundary line of the plantation, like a drum-roll.

Jim Ellis, Negro tenant, sat hunched-up before the hearth fire within his one-room cabin. He sat on a crude stool, elbows on overalled knees. He peered into the fire. Occasionally, he threw a piece of cord wood upon it and chunked up its blaze, each time returning to his meditative pose.

He enjoyed the lazy warmth of the fire, lounging before its blaze. Aware of the water torrenting down from the roof and the muffled roar of the wind whirling by his cabin, he was much content. The heat seeped into his body.

A blown sheet of chill water accompanied the entrance of a drenched woman. Pools of water collected on the clay floor where she stood bedraggled, her teeth chattering.

Jim, aroused from the stupor of contentment in which he dozingly dreamed, sprang up, strode to the door and flung it shut. "Well," he exclaimed, "well, ah, Miss Joan."

"Hello, Jim," gasped the woman, shivering with cold, "let me to the fire."

"What in tarnation you doin' out in this wethah, Miss Joan?" he asked his boss' daughter as he helped her from her water soaked coat. "Tain't fittin' for a duck."

"It sure isn't," agreed Miss Joan. "My car stopped runnin' a piece up the road, comin' back from town. Water got in the motor or somethin'. It coughed and just stopped on me. Lord, I'm nearly drowned. Gee, this fire feels good." She drew closer to the fire, sitting on the abandoned stool.

A shadowy mist rose about her as, leaning over to embrace the heat, she thawed out. She flung a question at Jim: "Where's your wife, Mallie, isn't she here?"

"Mallie ain't home," Jim answered, from the corner. "She went to Americus yistiday to see her mammy. Her mammy's sick. They 'specting her to die."

"That's too bad," commiserated Miss Joan, as she snuggled closer to the fire. "I was hopin' to get some of Mallie's good biscuits. I thought she was here." She looked at Jim and suddenly became aware that she was alone in a cabin with a nigger.

Silence, broken only by the sound of the storm without and the hissing and sputtering of the logs on the fire, fell.

Miss Joan was just another rural white woman, angular, spare. She was not pretty; but she was white, and she was young. Jim was young, too.

Miss Joan had taken the stool by the fire-place, blocking the fire from Jim's view. He had wrung her wet coat out, and had hung it on a nail on the wall. Now he stood fidgeting in the corner. In the shadowy gloom of the room Miss Joan cast a gnomelike silhouette against the ruddiness in front of her. Her damp clothing exuded a fragrant odor that crept through the room and tantalized the nostrils of her black host.

Miss Joan knew Jim as one of her father's Negroes. Her father had often boasted of his strength, and had set him always to doing the hardest tasks. Joan, herself, in riding across the fields one morning, had seen him perform a prodigious feat.

Sweat shining on the rippling muscles of his shirtless back, he had grasped a huge rock embedded in the field, and with one straining effort, had wrenched it from its bed. A team of mules was not able to haul it away, and the Negroes had had to break it up with sledges before they could get it off the field.

Jim was strong. Joan knew that. She knew, too, that all the colored women loved him. She had heard the women talking about their "sweet men," and Mallie's man, Jim, was judged by them to be the "sweetest of them all." All the colored women envied Mallie, and they all sang "lovin' songs" about Jim.

Miss Joan stretched her hands toward the dancing blaze. She watched the wood as it took the flame and crumpled in its colors. Again she became aware of the tumult of the storm raging outside the cabin. It was cozy warm by the fire. Miss Joan saw strange things within its blaze. She became frightened.

Jim shivered in the cool of the corner. The white woman was blocking off all the heat. It was just his luck for her to get stranded near his cabin. Why in the hell couldn't Mallie be home? S'pose some white folks driving down the road should find Miss Joan's car near his place? S'pose they found her in his cabin? He gripped his throat thoughtfully. Yet, other sensations registered within him. Miss Joan with her white skin and wet clothes that clung to her body. Stringy, soft hair—so different from that of his women. So different and so close. Crouched before his fire.

Shadows danced upon the wall and the odor of the woman's drying clothes permeated the room. Jim shivered again. It was chilly in the corner. The fire was getting low.

He moved forward to put more wood on the fire. The sound of his footsteps caused Joan to look around. He was crossing the dusky room. The woman started up, flushed, expectant. "Don't touch me," she faltered hysterically, as Jim approached the fireplace. Her arms were half outstretched, as though either to ward off an attack or to receive an embrace.

Jim threw a log on the fire, turned about and walked out in the rain. He sought shelter at his nearest neighbor's, about a quarter of a mile away. Drawing up to the fire there, he explained: "White folks come to my house an' put me out."

"Niggers are so stupid," thought Miss Joan, as she waited in Jim's cabin for the storm to die down.

Dean Pickens to Be International Essay Judge

Dean William Pickens, Field Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. has been asked by the New History Society to be one of the judges in its fifth international essay contest. This contest is to be staged in the parts of the world that have not already been covered by the four preceding contests, namely, Africa, Alaska, Australia, Canada, New Foundland, New Zealand, and the islands adjacent to these countries.

The subject of the fifth contest is to be: "How Can Youth Develop Cooperative and Harmonious Relations Among the Races of the Earth?"

The other judges are: Frank Olmstead, member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Edward Sapir, anthropologist of Yale University; Herbert E. Miller, sociologist of Bryn Mawr College; Devere Allen, Roger Baldwin, W. E. B. DuBois, and others.

The prizes range from one hundred to three hundred dollars for the best essay from any member of any race in any of these countries on the subject mentioned. The contest opened in November and will close in the late spring of 1936.

Decisions Confronting the Methodists

The* Christian Century *has granted permission to* THE CRISIS *to reprint its editorial upon the momentous question concerning the Methodists in their proposed unification plan

PUBLICATION of the official text of the plan for uniting the Methodist Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal, south, and the Methodist Protestant churches reveals no surprises. The proposal is essentially as it was described in these pages last summer. (See "Methodist Reunion," in *The Christian Century* for August 28, 1935.) It seeks to gain unity by a process of dividing. That is to say, where there are now three denominations there will be but one, but this one will be divided into six jurisdictional conferences, each electing its own bishops and exercising, independent of one another, large autonomous powers. Nominal union is thus to be achieved by recognizing geographical, psychological and racial separation. Internal division occupies a larger place in this plan than in the plan voted on, and rejected, ten years ago. To this more than to any other change do the plan's supporters attribute its greater chances of adoption.

Aside from the impression to be made on the public mind by the healing of a breach which has existed since 1844, and the formation of a single Protestant denomination with nearly eight million members, the Methodists are being exhorted to adopt this plan as a means of reducing denominational overhead and excessive machinery. Yet a reading of the document does not make it certain that such will be the result. Apart from the intricate organization proposed, with its general conference, its jurisdictional conferences, its central conferences, its annual conferences, its district conferences and its quarterly conferences —the whole producing, when put down on paper, an impression much like Ezekiel's wheels within wheels—there is provision for the formation by jurisdictional conferences of a full complement of benevolent organizations, so that the outcome may actually prove to be an increase in the number of denominational offices and officers which the local congregations are called on to support.

Yet if the plan does provide for a diffusion of denominational machinery and control, it also includes a provision which will centralize the final authority in American Methodism as it has never been centralized before, at least in the case of the Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Protestant churches. This authority is to be given to a judicial council, a denomination "supreme court" which is to have power to pass on the legality of rulings by bishops presiding over annual conferences in any part of the world, the legality of acts of the benevolent societies, and the legality of the acts of the general, jurisdictional and central conferences. Thus the new church will give a very small body, almost inevitably composed of "elder statesmen," power equivalent to that of the "nine old men" of Washington—a brake on the denomination's liberalism of thought and venture in action.

All these considerations are, however, aside from the main issue on which the fate of this plan for Methodist union clearly hangs. While the process of ratification will be a long one, it can be taken for granted that approval will be given by the Southern Methodist and the Methodist Protestant churches. The latter's separate existence has no logical justification now that the two other churches accept the principle of lay representation in governing conferences. The former's hesitation over uniting with a church containing Negro members—the issue which brought about the defeat of the union proposal of a decade ago—has apparently been overcome by the present plan for a separate Negro jurisdiction which seems to provide a detour about the South's most difficult social problem.

It is in the northern church that the fate of this proposal will be settled. And it will be the Negro question on which the vote will finally hinge. Ten years ago the southern conferences were persuaded to reject a plan for union on the ground that it granted too much to the Negro. Now the northern conferences are to make up their minds whether the plan before them grants enough. Before a question of such moment to so many Christians is decided, it is probable that the whole racial issue, in its relation to the Christian gospel, will be discussed back and forth in the national forum as it has never been discussed before. That discussion is already opening in the Negro secular press, and it lacks nothing in pungency. It is maintained, in a nutshell, that the Methodist church is going Jimcrow.

If "The Methodist Church" is created in accordance with the present plan the Negro problem will be dealt with by setting aside the present Negro conferences and missions of the northern church—which are scattered all the way from the Canadian to the Mexican border and from the Atlantic seaboard to the western boundaries of Texas—in a jurisdictional conference by themselves. This will not include quite all the Negroes in the united church, for there are 10,453 who are members of churches included in white conferences in the North, and these will not be disturbed. But the overwhelming majority of the Negro membership will be placed in this separate racial jurisdiction. This jurisdiction will elect its own bishops and conduct its own affairs precisely like the five other jurisdictions. It will have the same status in the denominational general conference. But the purpose of its formation will be to keep the racial lines within American Methodism clearly drawn. There is no dispute as to this.

In defense of such a solution for a problem which probably admits of no ideal solution, at least within the span of the generation now living, three claims are made. First, it is said that the plan is practicable, in that it allows the Negroes now members of one of the three uniting churches to remain in the united church, while it allows the white Methodists of the south to remain in the same church without outraging the accepted social conventions of their region. Second, the plan is said to do no more than make formal and official a segregation which the northern church actually practices at present by setting aside Negro congregations in separate Negro annual conferences, and restricting Negro bishops to administrative duties in areas composed of Negro conferences. Third, the claim is put forward that Negroes will actually have greater opportunities for exercise of their capabilities in the relatively independent and self-contained Negro jurisdiction than they have under present circumstances. Many of the Negro leaders in the Methodist Episcopal church hold out this expectation.

With the full weight of Methodist

(*Continued on page* 50)

Next Month

"Borah—What *Does* He Stand For?" An article by Louis L. Redding which studies the Idaho senator's record on the Constitution and the Negro from 1903 to January, 1936. Out February 25.

Communism and Peace Movements

By J. G. St. Clair Drake, Jr.

ENTHUSIASTIC "pacifists" (using the term in the D. A. R. sense to mean all opponents of war and fascism) seem to be disturbed and somewhat baffled by the perennially recurrent spectacle of Negroes flocking to the colors when the war drums roll, ready to do their bloody bit for God and country.

"Why," they ask, "do Negroes, victims as they are of a thousand infamies, pull financial chestnuts from incendiary fires set by pale anthropoids who care little about their burnt, black, feline paws? Why do they shoulder arms and footpad it to the front, denied even the dubious privilege of flying there? Why did black armies answer the call of a colored Assistant Secretary of War in 1917? And why did the "objective" Howard sociology professor concoct such a rabidly anti-Boche history of the Negro's part? Why do so few Negro colleges participate when The Campus Strikes Against War? Why-oh-why?"

What then would the "pacifists" have Black America do when the nation starts down the road to war? And why do Negroes do just the illogical opposite? To discuss the first of these questions will to a large degree answer the second.

Into Three Groups

All "pacifists" may be divided, for convenience, into three groups: the *Reds,* the *Whites* and the *Greens.* The *Greens,* so-called because the largest organized group of them has adopted green as its symbol, believe in absolute war resistance involving an unqualified refusal to aid or abet any type of armed conflict, whether it be racial, national or class. Many of this group oppose war on religious grounds, as in the case of the Quakers, the Mennonites, and a growing number of Methodist youth, while others base their conscientious objection on philosophic and humanitarian principles. Their wartime rendezvous has historically been with a warden at some convenient Bastille gate, and army tests give them a slightly above average I. Q., two facts which explain in part why only 450 black and white Americans wore the green in 1917. (However, there were 1350 in England.)*

Those who follow the *Green* way, and among them are such persons as John Haynes Holmes, Kirby Page, Jesse W. Hughan, Devere Allen, George Lansbury, and Gandhi, while they usually admit with the Marxians and orthodox Christians the inevitability of war in our present social set-up, see this as no reason for their participation in it. They prefer to make regular payments on their social debt in times of peace, and, should their contemporaries debit their war resistance, trust the impartial accountants of the future to transfer them to the credit side of history's ledger. They are convinced that "all war, both international and civil, is not only horrible but absolutely futile, and destined to bring disaster to both sides which resort to it, whether victors or vanquished, attackers or defenders, government or proletariat."† However, most of them sanction the strike, the boycott, and other means of non-violent coercion, and many of them (led in pre-Nazi days by Albert Einstein) believe that it may be possible to so swell their ranks as to call a general strike in event of war.

The author has attended institutes and travelled on peace caravans through the South and therefore knows something of the peace movement among Negroes

But the *Whites* (the color stands for Bourbon, flag, liver, *tabula rasa,* or purity of purpose, according to your orientation) are the real "pacifists," loving peace so much that in times of crisis they sign treaties with even the war mongers, supplying them with the necessary idealistic deodorants to sprinkle on their putrid purposes. During peace time the *Whites* ardently support disarmament, the League, the World Court, and peace education, but once Congress has O.K.'d a war they patriotically call off the fight against it, and in army or Red Cross, on the farm or in industry, through church and school, support the "war to end war." In 1917, practically all of our preachers, most of the radicals and liberals, and every organized peace society except one‡ were *White.* The *White* leaders of today run the gamut from Nicholas Murray Butler to Gen. Smedley Butler.

But most vocal of all "pacifists" are the *Reds,* who professing hatred of war no less earnestly than the *Whites,* differ from them only in the objects for which they will, in the last analysis, fight. Very clearly do they see that no capitalistic world can be a peaceful world; and determined to fight no battles for King Capital and his imperialistic country, they frankly state their intent to turn his wars into revolutionary struggles in the name of an aroused proletariat. (Of course, since recent pact making parleys abroad, they might find it necessary to fight in company with an imperialistic nation should the defense of the Soviet Union be at stake.) A *Red* "pacifist" would thus, during the gestation period of a war, seek to organize a general strike against it, and that failing, would "bore from within" the army and industry in an attempt to sabotage the conflict.

It was but three months ago that Harold Preece, an emancipated white Texan, called on American Negroes through the columns of THE CRISIS to close their ears to the Four Minute Men of the next war—the "various renegade Negroes . . . hired to sell their brethren murder on a mass scale" to forego the "glories of wearing a uniform and seeing the world;" and to resist the lure of the "sewing societies and cigaret circles" that will mark the "swiftly impending world conflict." Instead of being "hoodwinked by . . . specious patriotism" they should join the struggle for "bread and peace" and assist the white workers in their movement to thwart Mussolini's "Caesarian dream of grandeur."

Union the Solution?

The *modus operandi?* How revealing it is! "The Negroes must unite firmly and irrevocably behind a program of complete political, social and economic equality" demanding "the end of discriminatory practises and the establishment of territorial autonomy for predominantly Negro regions." In other words, "Negroes, to help prevent war, must join the Communist Party, abjure imperialist war, and prepare for civil war. 'Tis the final conflict . . . !"

Now Comrade Preece, like so many official C. P. theorists, though he warns, "The Negro must be sternly realistic," charts a course both unrealistic and un-Marxian. In the first place he expects Negroes, as a race, to act as though they were a homogeneous, proletarian class. But one thing which we can be sure that Marxian realism would never predict, nor non-Marxian realism permit, is the adoption by Negroes, *en masse,* of the Communist program. Both their immediate economic interests and the fact of class stratification within the group pre-

* Allen, Devere, FIGHT FOR PEACE, Macmillan, 1930, Ch. XIII.

† FIGHT, November, 1935, p. 8.
‡ FIGHT FOR PEACE, p. 504.

vent that, making it Utopian to expect speeches, articles, and communist mythology to convince Negroes that they have absolutely nothing to lose but their chains.

The Federal government and the capitalists *have* (no matter how ulterior their motives) given Negroes a measure of protection and opportunity that local governments and the "workers" too often have not. Therefore, until white labor has demonstrated its desire to "shoot square" or has a definite chance to win power, Negroes, most naturally will feel that their economic interests lie in fighting "imperialistic" wars rather than the "class" war. This, though poor class logic, is understandable race logic. To hope that it will not always be so does not invalidate the fact that it is, at present, true.

Negroes are indeed interested in helping the white workers to "thwart Mussolini's Caesarian dream of grandeur," but they undoubtedly want to be sure that the white workers are really anxious to confound Il Duce. Suppose, for instance, that the Colored Independent Longshoremen in the port of New Orleans were to refuse to handle cargoes bound for Mussolini-land, thus breaking their contract with the shippers. Is there any doubt that a hungry, white, non-Marxian proletariat would be ready to take those jobs immediately? (Or that a greedy, white, non-Marxian steamship association would gladly hire them?)

"Communization" of any appreciable number of Negroes, i.e., bringing them to the place where they will be willing to risk participation in the class war rather than in a nationalistic war (even if desirable), will be a long time process. It will grow from common labor struggles such as that being waged by the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, education of the black and white masses through symbols of the Scottsboro-Herndon type, and a more open and ruthless economic and social persecution of Negroes. And yet those who are fighting war and fascism know that their fight is an immediate one, whether their motive be to oppose all wars, or to give the Soviet fatherland a little longer breathing spell ere the Nazi-Japanese push begins. How can Negroes, as a race, and as individuals, be related to this struggle?

There is a chance that some broad united front organization like the American League Against War and Fascism, subordinating its Communist leadership and working through its "safe" affiliates, can broadcast some seed that may strike fertile soil, producing a few *Greens* and *Reds* and making a large body of Negroes aware of the fact that there is such a thing as the peace movement. It might be good strategy, for instance, to use to the limit the bolstering sanctions of recent Baptist and Methodist church pronouncements, and the Sermon on the Mount. It would be perfectly "revolutionary," in event of war, to have some Negro tell a Mississippi tribunal, with humble earnestness, that he couldn't go to war (even a white folk's war) 'cause his 'ligion is agin it, or piously begin to sing, "Ah Ain't Gonna Study Wah No Mo." But insofar as pacifism on the part of the Negro becomes synonymous with communism it will simply make him the butt of vigilante terror, and most Negroes will sense this before the first slacker is lynched.

Lack Information

Much of the apparent apathy on college campuses is due to lack of information rather than to fear of campus officials, or to being called *"Reds."* Insofar as lack of information is a cause, the national offices of the League Against War and Fascism, the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., N.S.L., L.I.D., War Registers International, American Friends Service Committee, Methodist Youth Council, *et al* are to blame. A copy of the Negro Year Book on the secretary's desk could insure the information reaching every school, and a little added effort could locate the students on the campus who could put it over. Where fear of official censure deters Negro students from anti-war demonstrations, the students are culpable. Our student groups aren't at all ingenious about social engineering unless "social" privileges are involved. While the president of the average Negro college might not sanction an anti-war demonstration, the chances are that he won't expel his "Y" cabinet, student council president, student editor, or liberal club leader should they lead the students in a protest against being used for cannon fodder. Students can afford to be a little *Red* or *Green*.

But any realistic approach to the problem of the Negro and war will recognize at the outset that the masses of Negroes are conditioned by the same factors and subjected to the same conscription as whites; and, are hence likely to be *White* pacifists, either through conviction, conscious or unconscious rationalization of desires and fears, or lack of conditioning against a patrioteer press, pulpit and radio.

This article is in no sense intended to be *Red* or *Green* baiting, and only moderately *White* baiting, for if that "conditioning" is to be done, any anti-war activities that point out the economic roots of modern war and encourage pre-war decisions and demonstrations, are working in the right direction.

The Communist approach, particularly, may be "bread cast upon the waters" which conceivably might "return after many days," should our peace efforts fail and a long-drawn-out war result. For then the soldiers, black and white, may remember having once heard a slogan, "peace and bread," throw down their arms and come home. At least the Communists are doing the bidding of Marx who once said, "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims . . . but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future . . ."

Must Face Realities

However, those *Red* "pacifists" who sincerely believe in the united front against war and fascism must not let preoccupation with the future make less effective their immediate task—checking the twin monsters. To do so would be to lose valuable allies among Negro church people, students and intellectuals, farmers and laborers who are not yet ready to "join the church," but who do oppose the War Devil and his Disciple.

Pacifist strategy must recognize the realities of Negro society, its stratifications and peculiar relationship to white society. Above all it must realize that when war breaks there will be very few *Red* or *Green* "pacifists" unless *in relation to every group of war-resisting Negroes there is a large group of whites in their immediate geographical area, preferably in unions with them, who are themselves pacifists and kindly disposed.* Black Americans will hardly risk persecution from Uncle Sam and an unfriendly white citizenry at the same time, though a few martyrs there should, and will, be. On the whole, *Black* pacifists, *Red, White* or *Green,* will be roughly proportional to the number of whites who wear these respective colors.

Next Month

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Rosenwald Fund Spent $1,689,451 in Two Years

The Julius Rosenwald Fund has expended $1,689,451 during the past two years, according to the Biennial Review just issued by Edwin R. Embree, president of the Fund. The payments were made in carrying out educational and philanthropic programs, the chief of which are Negro welfare, rural education, and medical services. Half a million dollars was used for repayment of bank loan and other indebtedness. The endowment of the Fund, chiefly in Sears, Roebuck and Company stock, has a present value of about six million dollars.

An Estimate of the 1936 Vote

By Walter White

IT is well within the range of possibility that the Negro vote in seventeen pivotal states, with a total electoral vote of 281 out of a possible 535, may play a not inconsiderable part in determining the 1936 Presidential and congressional election. There was a time not many years past when the color of a Negro's skin was an almost unfailing indication of his political complexion. No longer is that true. The 1932 elections marked the overwhelming repudiation by Negro voters of the do-nothing policy, so far as the Negro is concerned, of the Republican party and particularly of the Hoover administration.

In 1936 the Negro voter is more alive to the political situation than the vast majority of white Americans and even of Negro Americans realize. Thus the figures given below of necessity have to be taken into consideration by political leaders of all parties.

Perhaps the most significant development in the Negro's political career during recent years has been his complete repudiation of the old order of things under which a few politicians—Negro as well as white—were handed a few dollars with which they were supposed to corral the Negro vote and deliver it hog-tied at the polls on election day. Negroes, of course, do not repudiate the right of individual Negroes to appointment to office. But the old day has passed when a few petty jobs for political wheelhorses can be offered as a satisfactory answer to the demands of the masses of Negroes for recognition.

Significance is given to the potential Negro vote in the states mentioned by the revelations, for whatever they are worth, on the one hand of the *Literary Digest* poll on the popularity of the Roosevelt administration and policies and, on the other hand, the failure of the Republicans to offer any sound and appealing program or candidates as an alternative to the present administration which the Republicans so bitterly attack. A close election which the 1936 campaign promises will add to the power of the Negro vote. It would, of course, be ridiculous to say that all Negroes will vote unanimously for any party or candidate. It is equally ridiculous to say that there will not be some Negroes whose support cannot be purchased. But the united Negro opposition, as manifested in the Parker nomination for the supreme court and the repudiation by Negro voters subsequently of senators who voted for Parker, and the more recent unanimous condemnation of Senator William E. Borah's blunt assertion that he, if elected President, would veto any federal anti-lynching law, indicates that Negro voters along with many fair-minded white voters will unite on fundamental issues.

Below is given the tables showing the *Literary Digest* poll on Roosevelt's policies, the party majorities in the last three presidential elections, the potential Negro vote, and the electoral vote of these seventeen states.

The chief criticism of Negroes of the Roosevelt administration has been its too great deference to the second and third-rate politicians who in most instances represent the South in the two houses of Congress. Between now and November the administration needs to determine whether it will continue to listen to anti-Negro senators and congressmen from the eleven southern states with an electoral vote of only 124, or whether it will pay attention to the wishes of thoughtful people of both races in the seventeen states with more than twice as many electoral votes. Of one thing the administration may be sure—that save in elections where a religious prejudice, such as was raised against Al Smith in the 1928 elections, supercedes anti-Negro prejudice—these eleven southern states will not revolt despite the frothing at the mouth of men like Governor Talmadge of Georgia, as to do so would mean the loss to southerners of committee chairmanships in both houses of Congress, huge sums for relief, public works and other

TABLE I

Literary Digest Poll (of December 28, 1935) on Roosevelt's Policies; Majorities by Party in 1932, 1928 and 1924 Presidential Elections; and Potential Negro Vote

Electoral Vote, 1932	State	Literary Digest Poll on Roosevelt's Policies		Party Majority			Negroes in State 21 Years of Age and Over (1930 Census)
		Yes	*No*	1924	1928	1932	
8R	Conn.	6,194—28.27%	15,717—71.73%	136,138 Rep.	4,574 Rep.	6,788 Rep.	18,322
3R	Del.			18,996 Rep.	32,217 Rep.	2,754 Rep.	19,939
29D	Ill.	38,875—34.27%	74,576—65.73%	876,346 Rep.	455,324 Rep.	449,548 Dem.	226,692
14D	Ind.	21,005—40.65%	30,668—59.35%	210,797 Rep.	285,599 Rep.	184,870 Dem.	73,642
9D	Kans.	16,120—42.74%	21,599—57.26%	251,352 Rep.	320,669 Rep.	74,706 Dem.	42,964
11D	Ky.	12,031—59.78%	8,094—40.22%	24,111 Rep.	176,994 Rep.	185,858 Dem.	140,503
8D	Md.	6,680—33.85%	13,055—66.15%	14,342 Rep.	77,853 Rep.	130,130 Dem.	163,464
17D	Mass.	8,166—20.12%	32,417—79.88%	422,658 Rep.	17,192 Dem.	63,189 Dem.	32,898
19D	Mich.	15,069—31.85%	32,236—68.15%	722,393 Rep.	568,634 Rep.	131,806 Dem.	114,346
15D	Mo.	25,881—43.29%	33,909—56.71%	75,733 Rep.	171,518 Rep.	460,693 Dem.	150,457
16D	N. J.			378,234 Rep.	309,533 Rep.	30,946 Dem.	131,896
47D	N. Y.			869,262 Rep.	103,481 Rep.	596,996 Dem.	287,066
26D	Ohio	32,219—36.13%	56,954—63.87%	698,242 Rep.	236,664 Dem.	74,016 Dem.	199,291
11D	Okla.	10,424—47.89%	11,344—52.11%	29,556 Dem.	174,872 Rep.	328,303 Dem.	94,162
36R	Penn.			992,289 Rep.	987,796 Rep.	157,592 Rep.	277,355
4D	R. I.	1,517—22.95%	5,093—77.05%	48,680 Rep.	1,451 Dem.	31,338 Dem.	5,952
8D	W. Va.	6,209—41.76%	8,659—58.24%	31,403 Rep.	111,767 Rep.	74,393 Dem.	67,155

TABLE II

Literary Digest Poll (of December 28, 1935) in States Where Negroes Are Disfranchised Wholly or in Part

Electoral Vote, 1932	State	Literary Digest Poll on Roosevelt's Policies *Yes*	*No*	Party Majority 1924	1928	1932	Negroes in State 21 Years of Age and Over (1930 Census)
11D	Ala.	6,833—67.13%	3,345—32.87%	67,961 Dem.	7,072 Dem.	173,235 Dem.	479,950
9D	Ark.	4,762—60.58%	3,099—39.42%	44,231 Dem.	41,445 Dem.	161,135 Dem.	257,130
7D	Fla.	5,141—49.35%	5,277—50.65%	31,450 Dem.	42,404 Rep.	137,137 Dem.	251,025
12D	Ga.	10,432—67.20%	5,092—32.80%	92,900 Dem.	66,104 Dem.	214,255 Dem.	528,087
10D	La.	3,663—63.05%	2,147—36.95%	68,548 Dem.	113,495 Dem.	230,565 Dem.	415,047
9D	Miss.	4,400—73.07%	1,622—26.93%	91,929 Dem.	97,386 Dem.	134,988 Dem.	509,628
13D	N. Car.	9,550—64.87%	5,172—35.13%	92,517 Dem.	61,914 Rep.	289,222 Dem.	418,975
8D	S. Car.	3,023—70.43%	1,269—29.57%	47,885 Dem.	59,512 Dem.	100,369 Dem.	343,788
11D	Tenn.	12,497—63.48%	7,191—36.52%	27,655 Dem.	28,045 Rep.	133,011 Dem.	271,974
23D	Tex.	23,628—60.48%	15,440—39.52%	354,582 Dem.	26,004 Rep.	662,389 Dem.	469,637
11D	Va.	9,188—52.48%	8,321—47.52%	66,438 Dem.	24,463 Rep.	114,342 Dem.	329,220

benefits from the national treasury and the power which they hold in a Democratic administration, which in turn is based largely upon direct disfranchisement of Negro voters and indirect disfranchisement of many white voters in their states. The corresponding figures for these eleven southern states are shown above.

Joint Defense Committee for the Scottsboro Youths

When the first of the Scottsboro youths went on trial January 20, the defense was in the hands of the Joint Committee for the first time since the case started in 1931.

Late in December after several months of negotiating, a Joint Committee finally came into being. The committee was made up of representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Methodist Federation for Social Service, the International Labor Defense and the League for Industrial Democracy. The National Urban League, while not participating actively, indicated its deep interest in the case by passing a resolution approving of the Joint Defense. The new committee issues a statement containing the following paragraph:

"The undersigned have entered into an agreement to combine the efforts of these and all other organizations and persons who wish to aid in the defense of the nine Negro boys of the Scottsboro case. Under the agreement, each organization is pledged to cooperate to secure the best possible legal defense, and to do everything possible to counteract prejudices which have thus far made a fair trial for these boys impossible. All differences as to trial counsel have been removed. Alabama attorneys of high standing will participate actively in the trial, together with other eminent counsel long connected with the case."

The plan is that all organizations participating in the defense will have a representative on the executive committee. The executive committee will have full charge of all details of the defense. In addition to the executive committee there will be a larger nation-wide committee of individuals interested in seeing that justice is done in this case.

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, distinguished churchman and pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle of New York City, is the chairman of the committee and Colonel William J. Schieffelin is treasurer. Colonel Schieffelin formerly commanded the famous 369th Infantry of New York, is president of the American Church Missionary Society and of the Citizens Union of New York City and is a trustee of numerous associations and schools, among them Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes.

Chief defense counsel is Samuel S. Leibowitz of Brooklyn, N. Y. Associated with him is Judge Clarence Watts of Huntsville, Ala.

The first step of defense counsel upon the arraignment of the boys January 6 was to move for a change of venue to a federal court. This petition was denied by Judge W. W. Callahan and the date for the trial of Heywood Patterson was set by Judge Callahan January 20, for Clarence Norris January 23.

All contributions for the case will be handled by the treasurer of the central committee, Colonel Schieffelin. Contributions should be sent to him at Room 506, 112 E. 19th Street, New York City. Money for the trials is badly needed and contributions should be rushed by groups and individuals interested in saving the boys.

Sequence

By Emily B. Garrett

I

I was not born to beat with fragile wings
Against the unyielding bars of Life's
bleak cage,
Nor yet to weep at sombre, sordid things
That seek to goad me to a fruitless rage.
I should be free to fling a sparkling song
Athwart the length of clear, sun-gleaming
days,
And bury in a pearly peace this throng
Of shattered dreams which haunt my
weary gaze.

These bright benevolences still withheld,
My spirit flounders in a sea of gloom.
I find I needs must languish, sternly
quelled,
Within a sore-depressing rented room,
Or Death invoke to end the sorry plight
Of wings too bruised for unassisted flight.

II

But Beauty, rife with recompense for
grief,
Is often mirrored in some wayside spring
Along the paths of broken men,—the
chief
Deterrent from much reckless blundering
Mayhap into oblivion, or worse,
Into a world devoid of common sights.
And when I see a darkly looming hearse
With funeral train behind, the day
requites
Me with a myriad enchanting things:—

The sky, more blue, the grass, a brighter
green,
Vitality that surges, swirls or sings
In every wondrous living creature seen.
So comforted, I plod my way uphill,
Refreshed by Beauty at each scattered
rill.

THE SON OF HIS FATHER

Courtesy the Pittsburgh *Courier*

Editorials

Food for Thought

THE decision of the United States supreme court on the Agricultural Adjustment Administration creates food for thought for colored Americans. So far as the AAA itself was concerned, the decision meant little to Negroes, for they received little benefit from the act itself. The real question involved was the extent to which the "general welfare" clause of the Constitution may be used by the federal government in legislating for matters heretofore considered the sole concern of the states.

In this basic question Negroes have a deep interest, since they have come to rely greatly on the Constitution and the interpretations of it by the supreme court in securing and maintaining certain of their rights as citizens which some states abridge or deny.

The seven supreme court decisions won by the N.A.A.C.P. and the famous Scottsboro decisions from the same court are indications of how heavily the Negro has leaned upon the high court for aid. If anything is indicated clearly by the AAA decision it is that there is a limit beyond which the Negro cannot expect the federal government and the high court to go.

It is still more clearly indicated that the Negro must intensify his efforts to participate in state and local governments, no matter how great the present obstacles to that participation may now seem to be.

There does not now appear to be a necessity for abandoning federal agitation. Such federal relief as the race has sought and won in the past has stimulated improvement in local government. The long agitation for federal legislation against lynching has stirred state and local governments and their supporters to action. The famous Texas white primary decisions stiffened the opposition to Negro voters in some local sections, but in many others it forced down the bars.

Although the AAA decision has set a limit to federal action it ought not be interpreted by colored people as blocking all attempts at correction of social and economic injustices by the federal government. The great and most positive remedy for these ills is state action, and Negroes should continue to take resolute methods to participate in such action. At the same time, agitation for federal activity must not be abandoned, not only because significant direct victories need to be won, but because such agitation, even indirectly and slowly, is certain to stir progress in the states.

For the Scottsboro Youths—and Ourselves

AS this issue goes to press, the fourth trial of the Scottsboro youths is about to begin in Alabama. The latest date set for it is January 20. This trial, however, is a little different from the others in which the defendants faced death in the electric chair. First, hardly anyone, even in Alabama, believes the youths guilty of assault upon two white girls on a freight train near Paint Rock, Ala., on March 25, 1931. One of the girls has repudiated her testimony and an Alabama judge has set aside one conviction with the plain statement that the evidence failed to support it. Second, the defense is now under the direction of a joint committee of organizations which includes the Methodist Federation for Social Service, the International Labor Defense, the American Civil Liberties Union, the League for Industrial Democracy and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The National Urban League has gone on record as endorsing this joint action, although its structure and charter will prevent actual official participation.

It has become increasingly plain through the years this case has been in the courts that the fortunes, not only of Negroes, but of all minority and freedom-loving people, is bound up with the fate of the nine youths; for if the state of Alabama can convict them on the fantastic "evidence" thus far revealed, the state will be riveting a collar and chain upon the liberties of all, and booting to destruction what is left of our democracy. Fascism, which has been a reality for the Negro people, will become the unconcealed pattern of life for millions of Americans. The case must be won, the boys must be freed, not only for their sakes, but for ours as well.

Wider Scope for N.A.A.C.P. Work

THE election on January 6 of ten new members of the national board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P. gives promise that the work of the association will receive greater impetus and be widened considerably in scope. The new members come from widely separated parts of the country and it is natural to assume that they will stimulate interest in the program of the association in their territories and give the national office in New York valuable advice upon ways and means of making the work more effective.

From Texas comes R. D. Evans of Waco, an attorney who has won a reputation in the Southwest for energy, skill, and uncompromising assault upon inequalities; from Oklahoma, the well-known editor, Roscoe Dunjee whose courage was amply tested in May, 1930, when he went into smoking, hate-ridden Sherman, Tex., almost before the mob had dispersed after roasting George Hughes to death in a courthouse vault. A. T. Walden of Atlanta, Ga., represents the Middle South. Springfield, Mass., contributes the Rev. William N. DeBerry. Other valuable additions are: the Rec. J. W. Nicholson of Chicago; Sidney R. Redmond, Esq., of St. Louis; Mrs. Grace Baxter Fenderson, of Newark, N. J.; L. H. Lightner of Denver, Colo.; Miss L. Pearl Mitchell of Cleveland, O.; and Col. Arthur W. Little of New York City.

Be of Good Cheer

COLORED people and their friends who despair of the state of democracy in America should take heart. On January 29 there is called to convene in Macon, Ga., members and supporters of the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution. The call was issued by John H. Kirby, of Houston, Tex., and the Honorable Eugene Talmadge, governor of Georgia.

A New Voice

EARLY in December a new quarterly entitled RACE appeared in New York, its editorial board consisting of Martha Gruening, Francis A. Hanson, Loren Miller, Henry Lee Moon, Sterling D. Spero, George Streator and Bertram D. Wolfe, and its masthead announcing its devotion "to social, political and economic equality."

THE CRISIS welcomes RACE; there cannot be too many periodicals devoted to those noble ends. Many of its editors have proved their courage in the cause. Some of them have been at times in sharp conflict with the policies of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We are confident that RACE will go far beyond picayunish bickering over organizations and personnel, and become a challenging influence in a struggle which must inevitably be waged on many fronts.

Jew Hatred

(*Continued from page* 39)

It was no love for Hitler but an anti-Jewish sentiment which gave rise to some outspoken oppositions to the motion. The most emphatic expression was from a vigorous, plain speaking sister who told how a prominent Negro athlete said he would go to Berlin because "the Jews don't help us so why should we help them." A colored Christian minister arose to oppose the resolution. He stated that there were many reasons why it shouldn't be passed and that he was setting himself on record although he didn't have time to give all these reasons. It was only after a vigorous and stirring appeal for the passage of the resolution as a Negro act of defiance of Nazism that the opposition was defeated.

Jews As Class Not Rich

After the meeting, a young colored woman faced me with a query which I have heard on several occasions from members of her race. She asked me why it was that since the Jews controlled most of the money in the United States of America, they didn't use that financial power to better the condition of the Negro. She was a typical instance of the successful sale of anti-Semitic propaganda. She was surprised, and I suppose hardly believed me, when I told her that the Jews were not rich as a class, that the percentage of poor among them was fully as great as average in the population, that a list of the twenty richest men in America would reveal at most maybe one Jew, that the Jews were almost entirely absent from the big banking interests, and that she was probably getting her impression of Jewish wealth from a few mildly prosperous Jewish merchants, whereas the real wealth of the community was in the strong boxes of gentile capitalists whose huge estates lay unseen back in the hills, and with whom she never came into any personal contact. She saw the successful Jewish merchant, so she considered all Jews wealthy. She did not come into contact with the great masses of poor Jews, nor did she see the much wealthier holders of big securities who were not Jews.

Herein lies the source of a great deal of anti-Jewish feeling among the Negroes. For reasons of persecution, too intricate to explain in detail, the Jews have been pushed disproportionately into the tradesman group just as the Negro has been pushed by persecution primarily into domestic service and unskilled labor. The Negro frequently buys his wares from a Jew. Often he rents his house from a Jew. Some of these Jews are petty exploiters who not only act in a cold-blooded manner, but who further often enrage the Negro by discriminating against Negro help. But mark you well, they do not do these things because they are Jews. This type of person exploits his fellow Jews just as much as he exploits the Negro. I can vouch for that from wide experience. It is no more fair to take him as typical of the Jew than it is to take the drunken, razor-toting Negro roustabout as typical of the colored man. I know that the majority of Negroes are greatly incensed, and rightly so, when white people make generalizations about the Negro from the worst type of the race. Yet Negroes today are becoming anti-Semitic because they make generalizations about the Jew on the basis of their distasteful experiences with or their dislike of certain inferior people who happen to be Jews.

Must Understand Each Other

It is a trait of human nature for any oppressed people to try to rehabilitate its own self-respect by finding somebody else to look down on. Hitler bolstered up the humiliated German people by teaching them to look down on the Jews. There are some Jews who think that they improve their own self-respect in the midst of persecution by looking down on the Negro, or in some instances by adopting a superior attitude toward other members of their own race. I have heard rumors that among the Negro race there are also some foolish individuals who think that they better their own position by scorning other sections of their own people. And now, many Negroes seem to feel that they can soothe their own hurt feelings under persecution by climbing on the anti-Semitic band-wagon as it moves under Nazi impetus. Let them be disillusioned. The white anti-Semitic is usually a bitter Negro-baiter as well. If anything, he hates the Negro even more because in addition to the prejudice of race, there is the prejudice of color.

I write this article not as a defense of the Jew, nor as an attack upon any Negro or group of Negroes. I write it in the hope that two minority groups who have so many problems in common, particularly in these trying times, and whose salvation depends similarly upon a successful resistance to Fascism and Nazism, will come to understand each other a little better. If any individuals of either group are guilty of actions against the other, let the rest set an example of justice by judging this unworthy person as an individual, and not by hating the whole group because of him. We minorities are always preaching that idea to the world. Why not practice it in our relations with each other?

Methodists

(*Continued from page* 43)

officialdom supporting the plan, and such considerations as these urged in mitigation of its shortcomings, there is little question but that the northern general conference next May will vote the necessary two-thirds majority in approval. But then the decision will pass to the annual conferences in which the rank-and-file opposition, so far expressed mainly through *Zion's Herald*, independent Methodist weekly published in Boston, will make itself more effectively felt. As yet it is impossible to predict what the outcome of the voting in the annual conferences will be. Three questions in particular seem likely to prove crucial in reaching the final decision. These will be:

1. Admitting that the practice of the northern church has winked at a virtual separation between races, does the plan involve no retreat with regard to a vital issue of Christian ethics when it writes an official scheme for racial segregation into the law of the united church?

2. Admitting that Negroes holding prominent positions in the northern church have announced their readiness to accept the plan, will it prove equally acceptable to the younger generation of Negro ministers and laity, or will it operate as a device to drive them into other denominations?

3. Admitting that the plan is an artifice by which to circumvent an unfortunate but potent American social situation, can it be adopted to secure a desired end for the church in this country without placing additional handicaps on the work of this church overseas, especially in mission fields where the race problem is constantly growing in intensity?

When it comes to answering these three decisive questions a curious situation seems to be developing in the northern church. Hosts of its white members, both clerical and lay, seem to feel that all their misgivings will be allayed if the Negro bishops and other officials can be persuaded to say: "We are willing, with whatever reluctance, to accept this plan as a means to union." Before the long process of ratification is over, however, it may dawn on these northern Methodists that, from the Christian standpoint, the determining element should be not what a minority under great pressure is willing to take, but what the majority, in the light of its responsibility to the minority, must feel under obligation to offer. If the decision enters this vital area of ethical judgment, the majority may conclude that in the present plan for Methodist reunion the white racial majority is not offering the colored minority much.

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Public School Policy

***Journal and Guide*, Norfolk, Va.**

One of the disadvantages most severely retarding our public school system is the factor of local government entering into its operation. In some of the political subdivisions the trend is forward, in others it is either static or backward, depending upon the policy of the local government.

Richmond presents the public school enigma of the State. The capital is a city of wealth and culture. In view of this it is difficult for outsiders to understand Richmond's handling of its colored public schools. While all of them are overcrowded, and some are doing double shifts, the city government turns down a proposal, backed by the local school superintendent, to take advantage of a PWA grant for the purpose of providing additional facilities.

On the other hand, the local government has approved an expenditure of $165,000 for the white high school, of which amount $125,000 is to be expended for a drill field, the remainder for an underpass. . . .

During the year 1935 Norfolk increased its facilities for colored children by turning over a substantial building formerly used as a white facility in a neighborhood that had gradually been vacated by white residents. This relieved by approximately 50 per cent, overcrowding in the Norfolk colored schools.

We respectfully remind our forward looking Board of Education that there are still grave deficiencies in our local school facilities. There are several obsolete, poorly heated buildings, one or two of which are fire-traps. There is still overcrowding, requiring double shifts in some of the schools. The junior high wing of the Booker T. Washington high school, including 28 rooms and the principal's room, is still without lights. The library is without lights. Class room work on cloudy days and in early afternoons of sunlit days is done under difficulties in this building. Lighting facilities in a building that needs them do not seem to qualify as "educational frills."

We should like to see our School Board, of its own volition, remove this harmful deficiency in elemental equipment.

Penny pinching in the operation of the colored public schools exceeds the requirements of reasonable economies, in some communities. The practice also does violence to the equities, in the most elemental sense. It is encouraging to note that there is a tendency in local governments in some parts of the State, and in the office of the State Board of Education to formulate a more equitable policy in the administration of these schools.

Small need to voice any question as to why Negroes are leaving the so-called Sunny South in the large numbers revealed by a recent census when thought is given to the lack of reason for staying. Victims of an all too slowly decaying social system that has kept them in worse slavery than chains in which their ancestors were brought to American shores, Southern Negroes of certain types have developed a latent intelligence which has astounded the majority race, and have not been slow in getting out of the section that does little for them, but everything to them.

Denied not only their constitutional rights of the ballot, but the "unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," Negroes in the South have long since learned that there are places in the United States, that, to a certain extent, can be made the "land of the free and the home of the brave." He has learned that if he is brave enough to leave relatives, the Southern-white-man-who-is-the-Negroes'-friend, inadequate schools, unsanitary dwellings, legal injustice and a thousand petty indignities to which he is subjected daily, he will be free to make the sort of home he wants in places where each man is so busily engaged in looking after his own interests he has little time in which to grind another into the dust or swing him from a tree limb. . . .—Louisiana *Weekly*.

Two men stand up in the Republican "band wagon"—the staid, conservative Herbert Hoover, and the eloquent, reactionary William E. Borah. The man in the street, along with many a trained political observer, has become convinced that one of these veterans will be the Republican standard bearer. For once we trust that Mr. Public is wrong. . . .

The Republican party must determine to "shelve" these two stalwarts and depend upon the selection of a public servant whose record is at least clear of glaring defects. The choice is between a spotted horse and a dark horse. History affirms that when such a paradox arises the choice of a dark horse is the best bet.—Savannah *Journal*.

Congress convenes this week. One measure sure to be up for consideration is an anti-lynching bill. . . .

The *Bystander* believes that Negro political leaders can be of more service in this fight than heretofore. Southern senators will oppose such a bill; northern senators except in a very few instances will support it only in proportion that they respect the Negro voters in their respective states.

Unfortunate as it may seem, political candidates are swayed by votes to a larger degree than anything else and if Negro political leaders will show their senators that their support depends upon the backing of anti-lynching legislation, a different story will be told once the measure is up for consideration.—Iowa *Bystander*.

Germany in ordering segregation of Jews in the schools seems to be taking a leaf from the book of many American cities. At the present time Baltimore seems to be the center of disturbance in this regard, whereas throughout the South such segregation has ever prevailed. However, as the old saw says: "It all depends upon whose ox is gored.—Cincinnati *Union*.

The formal announcement of the new joint defense committee to push the long and bitter fight for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys will cheer not only the supporters of these nine unfortunate youths, but also socially alert persons everywhere. The new committee is a coalition of several of the country's most outstanding liberal and radical organizations. . . .

A united front of all forces opposed to this injustice is necessary for the salvation of the Scottsboro boys. A similar united front of all liberal and radical forces may soon be necessary for the salvation of this country—if the ideals of its founding fathers are to be preserved. . . .—New York *Amsterdam News*.

The U. S. may still be making the world safe for Democracy, but it seems in no hurry to protect the weak against the encroachments of the strong.—Cincinnati *Union*.

How to Fight for Better Schools

By Charles H. Houston

This is an outline of the steps which can be taken by Negro citizens to secure better schools. In it Mr. Houston has cited the laws giving citizens the power to act

NEGROES may derive small comfort in the thought that many of the discriminations they suffer in public school systems are due to their own failure to protect themselves, but facts are facts. In every state both by legislation and judicial decision public school systems are made responsive to public control and demands. The difficulty is that the Negro in the South has been kept out of governmental and administrative affairs so long that he does not consider himself part of the sovereign public. The first item on any program for improvement of public schools for Negroes must be convincing the mass of Negroes themselves that they are part of the public which owns and controls the schools. They must be taught that strictly speaking there is no such thing as a Negro public school, or a white public school. There are public schools administered and attended exclusively by Negroes, and public schools administered and attended exclusively by whites. But both schools belong to one and the same system, and the system belongs to the public.

Next, Negroes should know that the records of the public school system, including minutes of the school board and financial budget, are public records open to inspection by the public. Since the so-called white schools and the so-called Negro schools are component parts of a single system, Negroes have just as much right to know what is going on in the "white" schools as they have to know about the "Negro" schools.

Below is printed a memorandum of procedure worked out for attacking discrimination in public school budgets for Virginia. Details of the law may change in other states, with corresponding adjustment in procedure; but fundamentally the procedure suggested can be used as a starting point in attacking discrimination in school budgets in any state.

Procedure for Attacking Discrimination in School Budgets in County School Systems in Virginia.

1. Get the facts. Examine the records of the State Board of Education and the County school boards, and the school budgets for the past ten years. They are public records and you have a right to inspect them.

MICHIE'S Code of Va., 1930, Sec. 602: A faithful record shall be kept of the proceedings of the (state) board, which shall be signed by the president, or, in his absence, by the president protempore, and shall at all times be open to inspection.

Sec. 614: The State Board of Education, in conjunction with the director of the budget and the comptroller, shall establish and require of each locality a modern system of accounting for all school funds, State and local, and the local treasurers are hereby required to render each month to the county board, or the city school board, as the case may be, a statement of the funds in their hands available for school purposes. The clerk of the county or city board shall keep in a bound volume a record of the proceedings of the board, and in another book a receipt and disbursement record as prescribed by the State Board of Education, showing a record of his own official acts, and shall keep on file vouchers, contracts and other official papers, all of which shall be open to the inspection of the division superintendent of schools and of every citizen of the county.....

Sec. 644f: It shall be the duty of the county (school board on or before the first day of April of each year to prepare, with the advice of the division superintendent, an estimate of the amount of money which will be needed during the next scholastic year for the support of the public schools of the county. These estimates shall set up the amount of money necessary for overhead charges, for instruction, for operation, for maintenance, for auxiliary agencies, for miscellaneous, including treasurers' commissions, and for permanent capitalization. The estimates so made shall clearly show all necessary details in order that the board of supervisors and the taxpayers of the county may be well informed as to every item in the estimate.

Sec. 644j: The county school board shall publish on July first, or as soon thereafter as is possible, an annual statement showing all receipts and disbursements of the school fund in the county, which statement shall be published in some newspaper in the county, if there be one, and if not, in any newspaper having circulation in the county. The statement shall have the same general headings as those in the estimates presented to the board of supervisors, and shall show with reasonable detail all financial transactions with reference to the operation of the public schools.

2. Prepare your own budget suggestions, according to the needs of the schools for Negroes. Try to have your budget suggestions in proper form and presented to the division superintendent and the county school board not later than March 1, so that they will have one month to consider it before they are compelled to file their own budgets. Prepare the budget in the light of existing discriminations as revealed by examination of the board's records and the budgets. Back up your budget suggestions with statistical study of the condition of Negroes in the community, the salary of Negro teachers and cost of living, the number of Negro children crowded into a given schoolroom, the distances Negro children have to travel to school, the amount of buildings and equipment for Negroes as compared to whites, etc.

3. Get as many groups as possible to co-operate and endorse the budget, and then ask the division superintendent and the county school board for a hearing.

MICHIE'S Code of Virginia, 1930, Sec. 661: It shall be the duty of the school board to call meetings of the people of the county for consultation in regard to the school interest thereof when deemed necessary by the board. The board is authorized to appoint local school committees of not more than three members for each school house, whose duty it shall be to advise the members of the board with reference to matters pertaining to the local school and to cooperate with the board in the provisions for the care of the school property and for the successful operation of the school. Such committee shall serve without compensation.

4. If the county school board refuses to include the items suggested in its budget or otherwise make equal provisions for Negroes, get five heads of families who have children in school, and appeal. It is not necessary that the heads of families be voters; they do not even have to be taxpayers. They get the right to appeal from the fact they are members of the public specially affected by the decision of the board.

MICHIE Code of Virginia, 1930, Sec. 667: Any five interested heads of families, residents of the county, who may feel themselves aggrieved by the action of the county school board, may, within thirty days after such action, state their complaint, in writing, to the division superintendent of schools who, if he cannot within ten days after the receipt of the said complaint, satisfactorily adjust the same, shall, within five days thereafter, at the request of any party in interest, grant an appeal to the circuit court of the county, or to the judge thereof in vacation. The proceedings on such an appeal shall be informal, and no pleadings shall be required, other than the complaint hereinabove provided for. The court, or judge in vacation, shall decide finally all questions at issue. The order of the court, or judge determining the appeal, shall be entered in the current chancery book. A Copy of the order shall also be entered by the clerk of the board in the minute book of the county board.

When a school is owned or operated jointly by two or more counties, all questions arising with reference to said school, shall be voted on by the county school boards of said counties jointly, and the majority vote of the combined boards shall be final, unless appealed from as provided in this section. In the event of an appeal

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Cash Prize Photo Contest

THE CRISIS offers cash prizes monthly for the best photographs showing inequalities between public education for whites and public education for Negroes in localities where the races are taught separately. The photographs should clearly indicate the contrasts. For example: A photograph of a Negro school coupled with a photograph of the corresponding white school in the same locality; a photograph of a white athletic field coupled with a photograph of whatever is used for a Negro athletic field; photographs of interiors where these are accessible; photographs of buses used to transport children, etc.

PRIZES

First prize, $5; second prize, $2; third prize, $1, to be awarded monthly.

RULES

1. The contest is open to anyone.

2. The schools must be public, that is, supported by taxes of the city, county, or state. Private schools supported by organizations, churches, and private education boards are not eligible.

3. Pictures must be in THE CRISIS office, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by the last day of each month. The winning pictures will appear in the next issue of THE CRISIS, and the prizes will be mailed upon publication. The first month's contest will close February 29.

4. All pictures must be accompanied by short, accurate descriptions, giving subject, place, date, and name and address of person taking picture.

5. Each positive print must be accompanied by a negative. All rights of reproduction must be granted whether picture takes prize or not. The negative will be returned within thirty days from time submitted.

6. THE CRISIS will be the sole and final judge of the winners and there will be no appeal from the decision. Excellence of photography will be considered, but is not of the greatest importance. The important thing is to illustrate the contrasts and discrimination in education clearly. There is no necessity for elaborate mounting of snapshots. Please do not write on the face of the pictures. In mailing photographs and negatives use at least one piece of cardboard in the envelope to protect the contents from being bent and ruined.

A Modern King Arthur

By Marthe Beaudry

O me! for why is all around us here
As if some lesser god had made the world,
But had not force to shape it as he would
Till the high God behold it from beyond,
And enter it, and make it beautiful?
Or else as if the world were wholly fair,
But that these eyes of men are dense and dim,
And have not power to see it as it is:
Perchance, because we see not to the close;
—"[1]

THUS moaned the good King Arthur many centuries ago, according to our "Idylls of the King." Whether Arthur's greatness is legendary or real the extent of its influence in shaping youthful character cannot be estimated. A very noble figure, he stepped into that wild Celtic scene and threw himself with unprecedented zeal and ardor into that great "war of time against the soul of man." Lancelot his greatest knight said of him:

"The fire of God
Fills him: I never saw his like; there lives
No greater leader."[2]

I am sure that if the black people of the world have anything to make them proud of their race, it is the noble Ethiopian ruler, Haile Selassie, who like the ancient Celtic king is filled with the fire of God—"the highest and most human too." So ardently has our Negus loved the Christ, so faithfully has he believed, that his very mien coincides with the best concepts that ever the world's most inspired artists had of Christ. We mark his patience in great tribulation, his long-suffering of injustice and abuse, his God-inspired wisdom which he pits successfully against the greatest minds of Europe and we exclaim as Sir Bedivere spoke to Arthur in his sorrow:

"O me, my King, let pass whatever will,
Elves, and the harmless glamour of the field;
But in their stead thy name and glory cling
To all high places like a golden cloud
For ever:"[3]

Around King Arthur there was wrapped a cloak of mysticism. Many asked:

"Whence came he and by what right is he King?"

Not by document was his birth proven, but by tradition. So, according to tradition is Haile Selassie the seed of Solomon, the Lord's chosen; and for

Emperor Haile Selassie is likened here to the legendary King Arthur of olden times

this reason is our modern King Arthur especially protected, well-beloved:

"In whom high God hath breathed a secret thing."[4]

Truly in these times, when there is so much in national histories that begs to be forgotten, when the world is filled with perfidy and evil in high places, we look with relief to this great King who like the good King Arthur

"honors his own word
As if it were his God's."[5]

His sorry plight of today is due in large part to his honor. For in order to protect their colonial interests the great white powers exacted of him a promise not to import arms into Africa, they knowing full well that the blacks whom they held in subjection against their will, could not be dominated if they ever got the chance to fight with equal weapons. Little did Haile Selassie dream that when his hour of need came and he applied to the great white powers to fulfill their promise and furnish him with means to protect his little "isle of Christians in a pagan sea," they would take so many months in the face of his grave danger to decide whether it would be more profitable to them to keep their pledge or break it.

In the coming of Arthur we are told that there had been others, Aurelius and Uther, who had fought and died "but —— failed to make the kingdom one."

Before the Lion of Judah there were others, the mighty Theodore and Menelik II, but even they did not achieve the unity that now exists. Selassie, like King Arthur

"Drew all the petty princedoms under him,
Their King and head, and made a realm and reign'd."[6]

Indeed, not only has he united his own kingdom, but his unprecedented influence is felt around the world. Never have the darker people of the world evinced so strong a sympathy for, and interest in each other. The black people of the world have always been widely separated, due perhaps to lack of means of communication in their native lands and to national ties in foreign lands. The latter case can easily be illustrated by pointing to the fact that even in the United States the Negroes are of two main groups, somewhat antipathetic, the United States or American Negroes and the West Indian Negroes. Of the West Indians there are the Dutch subjects, the proud British, the Haitiens, who fought and freed themselves (to their everlasting glory) the Spanish, etc. Of the native-born Negroes there are those of German mixture, French, Spanish, English, Irish, Indian, even Chinese. Unity among these peoples is certainly as much a matter of education as feeling. But there are two things they do have in common, namely a large or small proportion of Negro blood and a sense of being trampled on.

Not only in Harlem but all over Africa, India, Arabia, Japan the strange rhythm of the war drum is felt. It heralds the dawning of a new day. A great and terrible thing is happening!

The revision of the government is one of the most notable acts of the Negus. His Parliament of feudal lords corresponds to Arthur's Table Round which the latter described as:

"A glorious company, the flower of men,
To serve as model for the mighty world,
And be a fair beginning of a time."[7]

Both of these bodies of men have pledged themselves

"To break the heathen and uphold the Christ—"

Both bodies have been spurred on by the "large, divine, and comfortable words" of their noble leaders.

The events of today in Ethiopia are like those of the beginning of Arthur's reign. We are told that the great lords from Rome (imperialistic monster!) strode into Arthur's banquet demanding tribute as today. And today, as then, the answer is in substance.

"—we that fight for our fair father Christ
No tribute will we pay."

And Tennyson goes on to tell us:

"So those great lords
Drew back in wrath, and Arthur strove with Rome.

And Arthur and his knighthood for a space
Were all one will, and thro' that strength the King
Drew in the petty princedoms under him,
Fought and in twelve great battles overcame
The heathen hordes, and made a realm and reign'd."[8]

[1] From "The Passing of Arthur," l. 13.
[2] From "Gareth and Lynette," l. 314.
[3] From "The Passing of Arthur," l. 51.
[4] From "The Coming of Arthur," l. 500.
[5] From "Guinivere," l. 470.
[6] From "The Coming of Arthur," l. 16.
[7] From "Guinivere," l. 460.
[8] From "The Coming of Arthur," l. 409.

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Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Ten New Directors on N.A.A.C.P. Board

Ten new directors were elected to the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the annual business meeting here January 6. The new members were nominated from various sections of the country and their presence on the board is expected to give new life to the association's work in their areas. The new members are:

R. D. Evans, an attorney of Waco, Tex.; Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City, Okla., editor of the *Black Dispatch;* A. T. Walden, an attorney of Atlanta, Ga.; Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, a school teacher of Cleveland, O.; Sidney R. Redmond, an attorney of St. Louis, Mo.; the Rev. Joseph W. Nicholson, of Chicago, Ill.; the Rev. William N. DeBerry, well-known pastor and community worker of Springfield, Mass.; Mrs. Grace Baxter Fenderson, school teacher of Newark, N. J.; Colonel Arthur W. Little, of the famous 369th Infantry, New York National Guard; and L. H. Lightner, Denver, Colo., an executive of the American Woodmen.

J. E. Spingarn of New York was re-elected president, Miss Mary White Ovington, treasurer, and Dr. Louis T. Wright, chairman of the board. The vice-presidents include: Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, Washington, D. C.; Hon. Arthur Capper, Topeka, Kans.; Bishop John A. Gregg, Kansas City, Kans.; Rev. John Haynes Holmes, James Weldon Johnson, Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Arthur B. Spingarn, Oswald Garrison Villard, and William English Walling, all of New York. Other directors re-elected include: Mrs. Lillian Alexander, New York; Hon. Harry E. Davis, Cleveland, O.; Hon. Ira W. Jayne, Detroit, Mich.; Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, New York; Isadore Martin, Philadelphia, Pa. and T. G. Nutter, Charleston, W. Va.

The report of Miss Ovington as treasurer showed that the total amount raised from all sources during 1935 was $49,570.64, and the total amount spent for all purposes, $53,119.87, leaving a deficit of $3,549.23.

N.A.A.C.P. to Support Senate Lynching Probe

As another method of spreading the story of lynching upon the official United States records, with a view to securing some action against mob violence, the N.A.A.C.P. is supporting the resolution of Senator Frederick Van Nuys providing for a senatorial investigation of the lynchings which occurred in the United States since the filibuster against the Costigan-Wagner bill last spring. Senator Van Nuys's resolution follows:

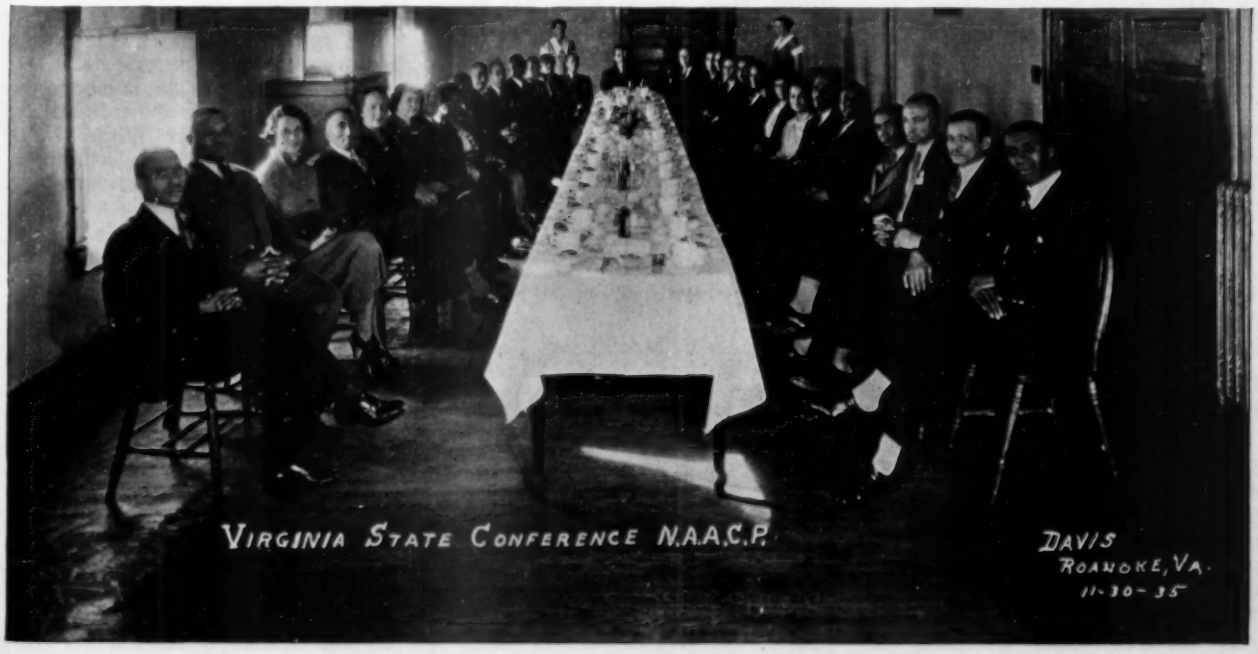
RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, during the debate on the motion to consider the Costigan-Wagner bill (S. 24, Seventy-fourth Congress, first session), which debate continued from April 26, 1935 to May 1, 1935, without any decision of the merits of that motion or of said bill, statements by various members of the Senate were made on the Senate floor to the effect that Federal legislation against lynching is unnecessary as the several states can and will prevent lynchings and punish lynchers; and that local and state officials should not in fact be reasonably deemed responsible, personally or officially, for any mob violation of constitutional guarantees for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, since May 1, 1935, it is credibly recorded that there have been at least fourteen lynchings in the United States of both white and negro citizens in at least 7 States, East, West, North and South; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the Committee on the Judiciary or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof is hereby authorized and directed to investigate the facts and circumstances surrounding the said fourteen lynchings, including the relation of said lynchings to other crimes and the maintenance of law and order, and any action taken by the responsible public authorities to prevent said lynchings and in attempted punishment therefor, and shall report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, not later than March 1, 1936, the results of its investigation together with its recommendations.

For the purposes of this resolution, the Committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and



Virginia State Conference of Branches meets in Roanoke

place, to employ such clerical and other assistants, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses, and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words. The expenses of the Committee, which shall not exceed $, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman.

Chicago Branch Wins Four-Year Fight

The Illinois supreme court on December 19 reversed the conviction of three colored people, two men and a woman, who were convicted in 1931 of criminal assault upon a white girl. The case was a notorious one, in which the two colored men and a colored woman were charged with conspiring along with a white man by the name of Carl DeVol to assault a white girl. DeVol jumped bail and has not been heard from since, although he was alleged to have been the ringleader in arranging the conspiracy, and was alleged to have actually assaulted the girl. One of the colored men sentenced to twenty years in the penitentiary had no connection with the case whatsoever, except that he happened to live in the same apartment where the assault is alleged to have taken place.

The Chicago branch legal redress committee, under the direction of Earl B. Dickerson, took charge of the case and it finally reached the supreme court after Attorneys Joseph E. Clayton, Nelson M. Willis, Robert Ming, Euclid L. Taylor, and Harold M. Tyler aided in the preparation. Mr. Dickerson prepared the briefs. The brief of the defense attorneys charged that Thomas Johnson, assistant states attorney, injected considerable racial animosity into the trial in the lower court, emphasizing that the victim was a white girl and that the defendants were Negroes.

The supreme court in its opinion failed to comment on the evidence and simply reversed the decision, stating that the testimony was so revolting that the public would have no interest in its discussion.

Christmas Seal Sale Passes $1,500 Mark

The 1935 N.A.A.C.P. Christmas Seal Sale has broken all records. To date over $1,500 has been reported from all sources. Because a good many of the branches have not as yet completed their reports, by the next edition of The Crisis, it is hoped that total receipts will exceed $2,000.

A feature article describing the methods used by the seal-sellers in disposing of their wares will appear in the March Crisis. It will be illustrated with the pictures of those chairmen of branch Christmas seal committees who have made outstanding records in their sales, as judged by the sizes of their communities.

The Baltimore branch under the leadership of Mrs. Josiah Diggs, is leading with a sale of $185.56. The New York branch, under the leadership of Mrs. Celeste Sampson, is following with a close $106.59.

The following is a list of those branches which have made a complete report:

Plaquemine, La., H. A. Greene, $50.79; Newport, R. I., Mrs. Aria Carson, $43; Louisville, Ky., Mrs. Bessie S. Etherly, $21; Allegheny Valley, Penna., R. E. Weems, $18.50; Rochester, N. Y., Miss Marguerite Taylor, $18; Plainfield, N. J., Mrs. Daisy Johnson, $17.06; Durham, N. C., Miss Marion L. Southerland, $16; Meridian, Miss., Misses E. B. Ivy and M. L. Larkin, $16; Roanoke, Va., Miss Justina Spencer, $12; Muskogee, Okla., Miss Willie May Madlux, $10; Albuquerque, N. M., Mrs. Myrtle McDonald, $9.50; Staten Island, N. Y., Mrs. Carrie Johnson, $8; Chickasha, Okla., Miss Atha Reeves, $8; Daytona Beach, Fla., J. Lincoln Brown, $7.50; Newton, Kan., Mrs. S. C. Mannon, $6.47; Newark, O., Dr. A. S. Burton, $6; Casper, Wyo., Mrs. E. E. Sander, $6; Johnstown, Penna., Miss Florence Davis, $5.05; Boley, Okla., Mrs. California Taylor-Turner, $5; Providence, R. I., Miss Doris Pettyjohn, $4.80; Adah, Penna., Miss Henriette Brown, $4.39; Port Huron, Mich., Leroy King, $4; Monrovia, Calif., Wm. W. Robinson and Miss Blossie Adams, $3.92; Maysville, Ky., Miss Addie Lang and Miss Adelaide Moorehead, $3.13; El Paso, Tex., Cleveland Jordan, $2.88; Massillon, O., J. R. Edwards, $1.77; East Orange, N. J., Mrs. Alethia Alexander, $1.75; Tucson, Ariz., Prof. W. A. Perry, $8.97; Cambridge, O., Rev. Edward Knox, $1.60.

The following is a list of those branches which have made a partial report:

Mobile, Ala., Mrs. Emma Freeman, $43.10; Washington, D. C., Mrs. Laura P. Carson, $31.50; Indianapolis, Ind., Mrs. Isabelle Winton Brown, $26.50; Birmingham, Ala., J. J. Green, $25; Springfield, Mass., $20.10; St. Louis, Mo., R. L. Witherspoon, $20; Monroe, La., Mrs. H. McClanaham, $19; Brooklyn, N.Y., Walter Lawrence, $15; Annapolis, Md., Robert Brooks, $12; Columbia, S. C., Benedict College, $10; Paris, Ky., Catherine W. Scroggins, $9; Stamford, Conn., Mrs. Ruth Nicholson, $8.02; Oklahoma City, Okla., Mrs. H. A. Berry, $6; Oklahoma City, Okla., Maxine Randolph, $6; Rockaway, N. Y., Mrs. Carie Burley, $5; Bloomington, Ill. $5; Evanston, Ill., Mrs. Louise Mason, $4.20; San Antonio, Tex., Miss Lucille Bonnett, $4; Willow Grove, Pa., $4; Jamaica, N. Y., $4; Newark, N. J., Robert H. Wheeler, $4; McKeesport, Penna., Mrs. Fannie Randolph, $3.46; Albany, Ga., Mrs. Ruth Belle Brown, $3.31; Lincoln, Neb., L. K. Smith, $3.15; Bloomington, Ill., Wm. M. Duerson, $3.01; New Castle, Penna., Miss Anna E. Taylor, $3; Lansing, Mich., John T. Letts, $3; Salisbury, N. C., W. J. Trent, Jr., $2.50; Stockton, Calif., Walter Austin, $2.50; St. Petersburg, Fla., N. W. Griffin, $2.50; Beacon, N. Y., Mrs. Ann McBee, $2.08; Alliance, O., Mrs. Annie Sykes, $2; Pittsfield, Mass., Horace C. Wright, $2; Como, Miss., J. E. Gipson, $2; Winfield, Kan., Bertye B. Askins, $2; Petersburg, Va., Miss Dorothy V. Norris, $2; Kansas City, Kan., Mrs. Elizabeth Buckner, $2; Midland, Penna., Mrs. Viola Turyman, $1.70; Worcester, Mass., Mrs. Bertha McWhorter, $1.50.

Next Month

"Borah—What *Does* He Stand For?" An article by Louis L. Redding which studies the Idaho senator's record on the Constitution and the Negro from 1903 to January, 1936. Out February 25.

1936 Negro Vote is Called Decisive

The 1936 election offers the Negro voter a greater opportunity than at any time in recent years to influence the election, it was declared here Sunday, January 5, by Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary, in the packed annual mass meeting of the association in Metropolitan Baptist church in Harlem.

After surveying the national scene and recounting the predicament of the Negro, Mr. White declared:

"The 1936 presidential election offers, through a combination of circumstances, an unparalleled opportunity to the Negro voter to utilize his vote in such fashion as may conceivably determine the election. In seventeen states with a total electoral vote of 281 the Negro vote holds the balance of power in any normal or close election. When this potential vote is considered in the light of the party majorities of the 1924, 1928, and 1932 elections and the latest figures of the *Literary Digest*, *Fortune* and other polls on the Roosevelt policies, it can be realized how great an opportunity is the Negro voter's to

help solve national as well as his own problems.

"It is of the utmost importance that the Negro vote this year should ignore party labels and support men and measures, which would lessen the evils from which the Negro suffers—lynching, relief and job discrimination, disfranchisement, unequal apportionment of school and other public funds; and also the Negro voter should be inspired with the broad vision which surpasses racial selfishness. Far more than most white Americans realize the Negro voter is thinking today as he has never thought before. Old line politicians—white or Negro—have no appeal to him and no influence upon him. The various political parties who hope to appeal to Negro voters need desperately to realize this."

Angelo Herndon also spoke, interpreting the significance of the Scottsboro case and appealing for a union of all forces against the threat of Fascism. James E. Allen, president of the New York branch, told of the work in New York City. Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, one of the association's vice-presidents, and head of the National Training School for Girls in Washington, D. C., presided.

Branch News

New officers were elected at the November meeting of the **Asheville, N. C.,** branch.

Howard Kester, an organizer of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, was the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the **Cleveland, O.,** branch, December 5. Mr. Kester lectured upon the condition of the white and colored sharecroppers in Eastern Arkansas. The meeting was held at Mount Zion Church, East 55th Street and Central Avenue, and it was attended by more than 1,000 persons.

James E. Allen, president of the **New York, N. Y.,** branch, was a speaker before the North Tarrytown, N. Y., Parent-Teacher Association, December 3.

The **Terre Haute, Ind.,** branch held a card party December 27 at the home of Charles Maywegher.

L. A. Knox, president of the **Kansas City, Mo.,** branch, was a speaker before the Kansas City. unit of the American League Against War and Fascism, December 20.

The monthly program of the **Kansas City, Kans.,** branch was given over on December 15 to youth work. Miss Reba King presided. Among those on the program were Roy E. Dickerson, Miss Bessie Jefferson, Miss Marguerite Hall, the Misses Betty May Albert, Barbara Knapper, Marie Watson, Anna Armstrong, Elizabeth Simpson, Lucille Brady, and Mrs. Marnesba Tackett. Claude L. Jones is president of the Kansas City, Kans., branch and Dr. W. M. Blount is chairman of the Program Committee.

The **Sacramento, Calif.,** branch launched a membership drive December 1. Membership Committee was composed of L. S. Williams, W. P. Taylor, W. E. Brown, Rev. D. D. Mattox, H. O. Johnson, B. S. McCard, A. B. Moore, and D. McFarland.

The **Akron, O.,** branch held a benefit holiday dance December 6 for the benefit of the anti-lynching bill. Emmer Lancaster is president of the branch.

Solon Taylor, Jr., was elected president of the **Hartford, Conn.,** branch at the December meeting. Mrs. Mary J. Lee was elected vice-president, Mrs. Melissa Broome, secretary, and Walter Johnson, treasurer.

The **Mobile, Ala.,** branch held its election, December 10.

Mrs. Virginia Brown, a member of the executive committee of the **Plainfield, N. J.,** branch and a director of the Plainfield junior branch, died at her home, 312 Filmore Avenue, December 24. She was buried in Hillside Cemetery.

The **Plainfield, N. J.,** junior branch met December 22 to consider employment conditions. Archie Johnson is president.

The **New Rochelle, N. Y.,** branch adopted a resolution urging non-participation of American athletes in the 1936 Olympics in Berlin.

The **Newark, N. J.,** branch had as a speaker on December 8 the Rev. L. Hamilton Garner, of the Universalist Church of the Redeemer, and Finance Director Parnell.

The **Pine Bluff, Ark.,** branch celebrated the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1 with a program at the Cherry Street A.M.E. Church, with Vice Principal R. N. Chaney of the Merrill high school delivering the principal address.

The **Newburgh, N. Y.,** branch held its election of officers December 9.

Dr. C. E. Walden was elected president of the **Flint, Mich.,** branch December 16. Other officers are: vice president, Rev. W. H. Vaughn; secretary, Dr. J. D. Wilson; treasurer, R. C. Chandler. Members of the executive board include R. M. Van Dyne, Dr. J. L. Leach, York Harrison, George Smith, Tatum Randle, the Rev. Julius Wilson, Earl Raymond, Dr. J. E. Hawkins, E. C. Robinson, Mrs. Jessie Brady and Kenneth Oden.

The branch held its annual Charity Dance, December 9 in the Mayfair Ball Room with more than 300 couples in attendance. Dr. J. L. Leach led the grand march.

At the regular monthly meeting of the **Media, Pa.,** branch, B. F. Whitson, of the Society of Friends, addressed the meeting on the subject "The Value of the N.A.A.C.P." Mr. Whitson is a member of our branch and an ardent worker for the Negro, C. I. Moat, secretary of the branch and chairman of the membership committee, made the appeal and many responded. Musical numbers were rendered by Mrs. Margariete LeBue, contralto and Messrs. Frederick Randolph and Chesterfield Moat, saxophone.

The annual fellowship dinner of the **Duluth, Minn.,** branch was held December 12. Speakers included Judge E. J. Kenney of the District Court; F. J. Dacey, Regional WPA Supervisor, Miss Florence Lang, County Home Administrator Agent and Miss Marie Coles, treasurer of the branch. Those who participated in the musical portion of the program included Argonne Thornton, William Jones, E. Withers, Louis Rutherford, E. Nichols, Jr., E. Rodney, A. Nins, John Allen, the Thomas brothers, Lee Wiley, Jr., Charles Wiley, E. Waters, J. Waters and William Maupins. Soloists in a musical skit written by Henry Williams included Louis Nins, Dorothy Thomas, W. B. Richardson and Albert Black. President R. J. Simmons presided and Joseph Albright was chairman of the committee.

Mrs. Blanch Dillard was elected president of the **New Castle, Pa.,** branch, December 13. Other officers named were: Thomas C. Farrow, first vice-president; Berl Hall, second vice-president; secretary, Miss Anna E. Taylor; assistant secretary, Miss Henrietta Davis; Treasurer, Dr. George W. Garnett; Executive committee, Miss Rosa V. Brown, Dr. J. A. Gillespie, Walter Smith, John B. Campbell, Berl Hall, Red Mitchell, James McCarthy, William Howard and Horace Bradley.

The **Lynchburg, Va.,** branch, met December 6 to hear recommendations from the executive committee and the final report of the membership committee headed by the Reverend P. L. Harvey. Plans were made for a membership campaign to begin in January.

The **Montgomery, W. Va.,** branch held its first meeting of the new year January 5 at Kimberly. Miss Elizabeth Scott spoke on "Lincoln and the Emancipation." A membership drive is in progress.

The **Tacoma, Wash.,** branch held a mass meeting for the discussion of city problems on December 15.

The winning team in the membership campaign of the Norfolk, Va., branch last November: left to right, Miss M. E. Harper, captain of the team; Miss Velma Seldon, Miss Almeda Faulkner, Miss Bessie E. Gaines and Mrs. Florence Chesson

Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., presented the charter of the **White Plains, N. Y.,** branch at its Charter Day exercises December 15. Dr. Errold D. Collymore, president of the branch, wrote a letter at the close of the year to the White Plains *Reporter*, thanking the editor for fair treatment of colored people in the news and editorial columns during 1935.

William S. Leftwich was chosen president of the **Johnstown, Pa.,** branch at its election, December 12. Other officers chosen: Mrs. Ella Poole, first vice-president; Henry Bundy, second vice-president; Miss Larue Cook, secretary; Benjamin Cashaw, assistant secretary, and Miss Minnie Turner, treasurer. The executive committee chosen: Dr. B. K. Johnson, Mrs. Deane B. Leftwich, Arthur Johnson, Edgar Fairfax, Leroy Hankins, Columbus Quarles, Mrs. Mary Sedgewick, Robert Felton, Houston Underwood and Dr. Moses Clayborne.

The **Omaha, Neb.,** branch at its meeting on December 15 had two principal speakers: R. C. Price on Ethiopia, and Dr. Aaron McMillan, who for seven years was a missionary in Angola, West Portugese, Africa.

The **Jersey City, N. J.,** branch has made formal protest to Chief of Police Daniel Casey on the beating of Negroes by Jersey City policemen. Chief Casey promised to investigate the latest reported case.

William Pickens, director of branches, and Roscoe Dunjee, president of the Oklahoma State Conference of Branches, addressed a mass meeting of the **Houston, Tex.,** branch, December 8.

Mr. Pickens spoke for the **San Antonio, Tex.,** branch, on December 9.

A. R. Lett was the speaker for the **Elizabeth, N. J.,** branch, December 15. Dr. J. T. Davis, branch president, presided.

Principal E. W. Tolliver of the Douglass High School is the president of the new **Ardmore, Okla.,** branch.

One of the notable achievements of the **Cleveland, O.,** branch during 1935 was the publication of a four-page branch quarterly. The quarterly contains news items about the national work of the association, items about the Cleveland branch and what it is doing in the community, news of the youth division and items in Cleveland and Ohio which should concern colored people and the branch. A financial report of the teams working in the membership campaign with the number of memberships secured and the total amount of money raised was published in the October, 1935 issue.

The **Newton, Kan.,** branch held its annual meeting and election of officers December 11. The following officers were chosen: Samuel Ridley, president; the Rev. William Cole, vice-president; D. E. Brown, secretary; J. W. Freeman, treasurer; the Rev. W. T. Roberson, assistant secretary. The branch decided to elect the executive committee at a later date. The speaker of the evening was the Reverend G. J. Strong of the C.M.E. church who spoke on "Cooperation and Organization."

BRANCH NEWS

Send the news from your branch regularly to THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth avenue, New York. It must reach us by the first of each month.

LETTERS from READERS

Lucille Goes to College

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—The sketch which Mr. Carson contributed in the October CRISIS is interesting for its rather point blank portrayal of a race problem present in the United States and especially in evidence in California. Upon even a short visit to that state one can soon discover the truth in what some Californians are frank enough to tell visitors: "California is great for the vacationist, but if it's work one is looking for he had better be certain he has a long-term contract before reaching the state".

That is not to say that what is true of Lucille's case in California is not true in greater or lesser degree in every metropolis in the United States. The "land of free competition" and the "beaten path to the tinker's door for the mouse trap he's made" are fine expressions, but illusory beyond the sound of baccalaureate orators, and very rarely does a Negro have the perfect right to say, "I have advanced in business according to my capacity".

But the point I am trying to suggest first is, in that far flung metropolis, Los Angeles, and the myriad towns and cities that dot the Pacific coast, the Negro's sphere of enterprise is even more limited. Los Angeles with its thirty-five thousand Negroes boasts the largest Negro business district in the whole stretch from Kansas City to the west coast, if we exclude the southern city of Houston on the east side of the American desert. And Central Avenue, its principal Negro business thorofare, can absorb only a portion of the graduates from the mixed schools in the state; assuming, at that, an absolute desire on the part of Negro employers to use these graduates. The public school system there accepts teachers of color in a few instances in certain districts. The film colony is open to Negroes of a "type," and for all the dignity which some few race actors are lending to these roles under the censure of skeptical directors; notwithstanding the acclaim which an outstanding baritone or contralto sometimes wins, it is still a far cry to the day when even the fine arts shall not be circumscribed by the sort of discrimination tragic in Lucille's story.

Moreover, one does not find in California much of the sort of race consciousness that has been responsible in large part for what little success in businesses of his own and in his social life the Negro enjoys in some places in the South and in the Northeast, particularly in cities like Atlanta, Durham, Nashville and Chicago. As far west as Denver one is pleased to see the social institutions rising as a result of cooperation among Negroes and to see in that city's magnificent new city-county building a colored accountant intent at her work in one of the extensive municipal offices. Much credit is due Negro institutions of higher education in the South which—for all the paradox which the no-form-of-segregationists argue they present—have figured a great way in whatever progress the race has made.

From Denver northwestward via Yellowstone and all through the sparsely populated areas past Salt Lake City's cross roads, even in the larger towns with their tourist hordes, one notices the scarcity of Negroes and sees its effects in the occupations upon which they depend.

Yes, Lucille went to college and sought work in California; but California is California and until colored Americans there succeed in building up a greater empire for themselves which will at the same time transcend some of the prejudices which Boy Cott is retaining for Jim Crow much in behalf of visiting southern tourists, Lucille no doubt will have better luck if she seeks her fortune in the other half of the "land of the free".

FRANK B. ADAIR, JR.,
Langston University,
Langston, Okla.

Texas Holiday

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—I wish to correct any misconception that might have arisen from the phraseology that I employed in my account of the Columbus, Texas, lynchings entitled "Texas Holiday." Mr. John W. Haywood, of Morgan College, has written me declaring that I did not give the two murdered boys the benefit of the doubt in sufficient measure. But within my mind, there is a very grave feeling that the boys were innocent. "Rape" is the oldest and most repetitious story in the South.

The Houston correspondent of Crusader News Agency has declared that the girl, Geraldine Kollman, died when she fell from her horse. This correspondent is, herself, a southern white woman; and I know her to be truthful in her reports.

May I say that my own article was written rather hurriedly, since I was pressed for time. Whatever the facts behind the lynching, the corpses of the two boys are silent accusers of the whole southern jurisprudence.

HAROLD PREECE

Austin, Texas

Howard Law School Moves

After half a century in downtown Washington, close by the courts, the Law School of Howard University returned to the campus with the opening of classes following the Christmas and New Year holidays.

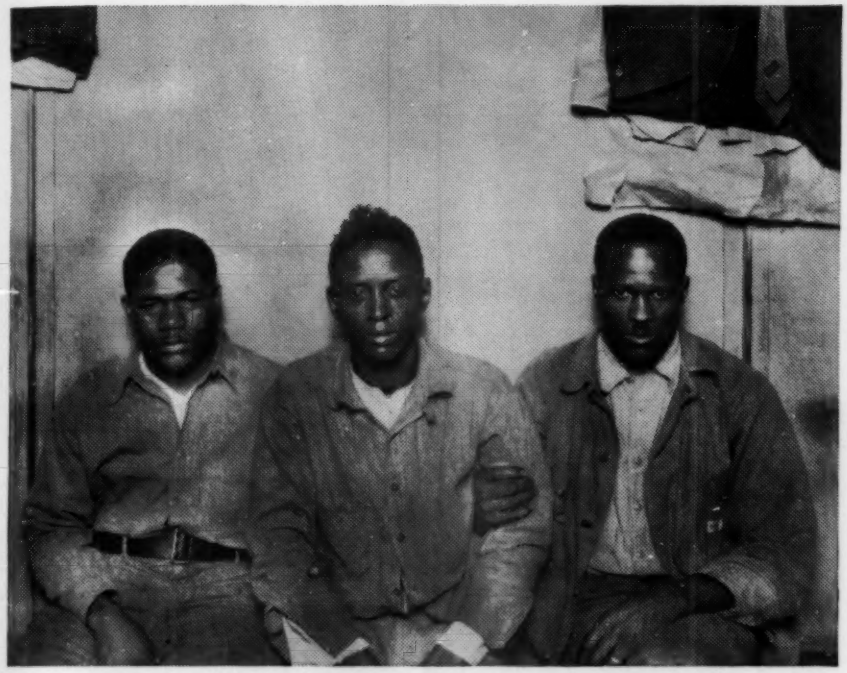
The law school is now located on the first and second floors of the fire-proof building formerly used as the university dining hall. The dining room proper, with its high ceiling and deep windows, overlooking the reservoir, houses the new law library.

The school was forced out of its narrow, deep-red brick, three story building at 420 Fifth Street, N. W.—a landmark on Judiciary Square—because the structure is old and too small to accommodate adequately the growing library and to afford the classroom facilities and offices for instructors required by the Association of American Law Schools, of which the law school has been a member since 1931.

Gilpin Players in Porgy

The Gilpin Players of Cleveland, O., the oldest Negro Little Theatre unit in the country, revived Porgy by Dorothy and DuBose Heyward, December 11-15 inclusive.

U. S. Supreme Court Hears Their Case



ED BROWN, YANK ELLINGTON AND HENRY SHIELDS

The United States supreme court on Friday, January 10, heard the argument on the appeal of these three Mississippi sharecroppers from a conviction of murder. The plea for the defendants was made by Earl Brewer, Esq., of Jackson, Miss., whose recital and argument shocked the supreme court to the point of visible indignation. The three farm hands were convicted solely upon a "confession" which was secured from them by beatings and torture almost unbelievable in a civilized state. One justice of the Mississippi supreme court in commenting upon the torture said that it was worse than the middle ages. There was no other evidence against the men except this "confession." The justices of the supreme court repeatedly interrupted the lawyer for the state of Mississippi to question him about the testimony used to convict the men. The decision of the court is expected shortly. The case is being fought by the N.A.A.C.P.

Better Schools

(*Continued from page* 41)

from the joint action of such boards, the complaint shall be made to the division superintendents of both counties affected, and if they cannot adjust the same as provided in this section, an appeal shall be allowed to the circuit court, or the judge thereof in vacation of either of the two counties, the appeal to be certified to the court or judge which the party appealing may request.

5. If the division superintendent grants the item, but the county board of supervisors refuses to include it in the county levy or to make a cash appropriation to cover the same, get fifty taxpayers, qualified to vote, to petition the circuit court of the county for a special election.

MICHIE'S Code of Virginia, 1930, Sec. 657: .....If the board of supervisors refuse to lay such a levy or make such case appropriation as is recommended and requested by the division superintendent, then, on a petition of not less than fifty tax payers of the county, qualified to vote, requesting the same, the circuit court of the county, or the judge thereof in vacation, may, in its or his discretion, order an election by the people of the county to be held during the month of June, to determine whether such levy shall or shall not be fixed.

6. If the county school board, the division superintendent, and the court are all guilty of discrimination against Negroes, adequate court remedy is open according to the particular circumstances.

7. Pay your poll taxes, register and VOTE. Organize non-partisan political clubs for better education and get as many cooperating clubs as possible. Prepare a program and submit it to all candidates for office. Publicize your program and appeal to the press and all liberal-minded whites.

8. Do not lose heart if victory does not come at once. Persevere to the end.

King Arthur

(*Continued from page* 54)

How we wish that this victory in Arthur's life might find a counterpart in the reign of Haile Selassie. Christians everywhere, Negroes everywhere are looking to their Maker for a speedy deliverance of this innocent, ancient people who walked with God when Europeans walked on all fours.

For many months that benevolent, peace-loving little Emperor led his nation in praying that somehow the great crime of war might be averted, and he thereby fulfilled the ancient biblical prophecy:

"Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."

For some reason which we dare not question the Negus' prayers for peace have not been answered. On the appointed day the ruthless enemy swarmed into his ancient, peaceful land. Bewildered and disappointed at the shameful waste of his lifetime of work, but still clinging to his faith in God and his belief in the final triumph of right, he might well exclaim with Arthur:

"I found Him in the shining of the stars,
I mark'd Him in the flowering of His fields,
But in His ways with men I find Him not."[9]

Haile Selassie and some members of his family, believing still in the efficacy of prayer have sent out many impassioned pleas to the civilized world to join them in prayer. Arthur, too, realized the value of intercession by a fellow worshipper when he said:

"More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of. Wherefore let thy voice
Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
For what are men better than sheep or goats
That nourish a blind life within the brain.
If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.[10]

We cannot believe that God will allow the wicked enemy to succeed, so strongly is a Christian victory needed in a world whose tendency is to reject morality and religion; yet if it be, we must cling to our faith, believing that as He sacrificed His Son on Calvary, so would He sacrifice the liberty of these ten million people in order that hundreds of millions of His dark sons might nourish a common sympathy so great as to burst the bonds of race prejudice and permit them to take their rightful and respected places in the sun.

[9] From "The Passing of Arthur," l. 9.
[10] From "The Passing of Arthur," l. 414.

Forty new colored clerks have been appointed in the Department of Labor in Washington, bringing the colored total to one hundred and twenty-nine persons.

Duke Ellington

(*Continued from page 41*)

scores. It is interesting to note that most of his famous arrangements have never been written down. It sometimes takes Manager Mills five to six months to persuade Ellington to put one on paper.

Difficult Arrangements

Duke Ellington has, as have most all composers, one composition of his own that is his favorite. With Ellington it is one of his more recent creations—an unusual selection entitled *Reminiscing*. This song is, in his own opinion, his greatest composition. He took more care and spent more time in the writing of *Reminiscing* than any other of his songs. This selection, which was written while en route to Hollywood from New York, by train, takes up four sides of a record and requires fifteen minutes to play.

The majority of Ellington's numerous compositions are so difficult, so intricately arranged, that few other bands can properly interpret them. He expects things from his players which are seldom expected by other band leaders. His arrangements are, consequently, written expressly for his own orchestra. A careful observer will notice that Ellington and his boys are constantly exchanging signals while they are playing. It may be no more than a casual lifting of the eyebrows, or a faint nodding of the head, yet will convey any one of many meanings to the members of his band. They are not prepared signals; they are the result of the existence of an uncanny understanding.

Although Duke Ellington has never really studied classical music, he does not suffer from a lack of familiarity with this cultural aspect of music. He has never made a survey of the classics for fear that he might "be influenced by its melodies." Yet, his music closely follows the classical pattern; so much so, in fact, that the famed pianist Percy Grainger has likened Ellington's music to that of the British composer Frederick Delious.

Duke Ellington and his orchestra have appeared in every large Paramount, Loew's, and Keith's theater in the country. They have played over radio chains, at college proms, and night clubs. They have played at concerts sponsored by the New York Philharmonic Society. They have played before royalty. Ellington, through his scientific application of a measured and dangerous stimuli, has earned for himself a significant position in the annals of modern American music. Yet, such lofty recognition has not resulted in any change in his performances. He still persists in speaking in the Negro idiom. Instead of the routine request for a *presto* or an *allegro con spirito*, Ellington will tell his men to *"sock it."* When a symphonic conductor would call for a solemn *andante* the *hot* jazz command would be, *"Come on boys—let's go to church."* Edward Kennedy "Duke" Ellington "lives music, eats music, and sleeps music." His ingenuity as a musician is capably summoned up in the words of Robert Griffin, noted Belgian lawyer and author of the only volume of jazz: *"Sans extravagance, avec des moyens tout en douceur et en demi-teintes, Duke a atteint le pinacle de la gloire."*

Young Playwright

MISS ELSIE ROXBOROUGH

Miss Roxborough, the daughter of former Senator and Mrs. Charles Roxborough of Detroit, who is a student at the University of Michigan, has written several short plays, one of which, "Wanting," was produced by the Theatre Guild Players of Detroit last fall. Miss Roxborough is the niece of John Roxborough, one of the managers of Joe Louis

Soviet Radio Program

From the Radio Centre in Moscow on February 12 there will be broadcasted a musical program by Negro workers now in the Soviet Union.

Star CRISIS Salesman

One of the best CRISIS salesmen in the country is Frederick John Hamilton, Jr., who resides at 99 Chauncey St., Brooklyn, N. Y. He sold over 125 copies of the November issue of THE CRISIS, and he says he is not satisfied until he reaches 150. This ambitious boy is 18 years old and is a senior at Alexander Hamilton high school. He belongs to many athletic and social clubs. Besides selling THE CRISIS he is a champion salesman for a large national magazine company. His motto is "It Can Be Done If You Try Hard Enough."

Be sure to read "Borah—What *Does* He Stand For?" in the March Crisis, out February 25.

Streets of Harlem

By JOSEPHINE SCHUYLER

Children
With faces like black orchids
Their smiles
Moonlit paths in a forest.

Children
Smooth brown
Little heads carved in oak
With polished ridges;
Or modeled in caromel
With fluted flower lips.

Children
Honey-colored
With big lustrous eyes
And crisp little noses
And bright jet curls—
Little amber odalesques—
Little gods and goddesses
In gold.

Children
Like smoked pearl
With slate-grey eyes
And straight brown hair
And thin-etched lips
Parted in wonder.

Children
Of a thousand blends:
Moonstone tints with twisted charcoal hair,
Slim Greek heads in bronze;
Sunshine and starlight
Alpine and deep night
Four continents
In the melting pot,
Little Delilahs and Madonnas
Little Vishnus and Venuses
Little Pans and Apollos.

Children
Who will brighten Broadway,
Will hearten Hollywood,
Who will love and harangue Harlem.
Some who will swing picks
Some who will wash dishes
Some who will wear sable
And others
Who still could walk
Naked and proud
With spears in their hands
Over African meadows.

Pottsville, Pa., Opens New Community House

Lincoln Community House of Pottsville, Pa., where a community service program will be conducted under the auspices of the Pottsville Interracial Committee, was dedicated and opened recently before a large audience. The exercises of dedication were held in the assembly room of Lincoln House, 401 Minersville street, Charles M. Emerick, director of adult education of Pennsylvania, delivering the principal address. Miss Anna I. Babcock, secretary of the Y.W.C.A., gave the story of the development of the Center and the building was presented the community by Mrs. George M. Keiser, and accepted by Mrs. Edith Foster. William Garner, a Boy Scout, received the American flag presented by the local chapter of the D.A.R. A gift of appreciation for her services in preparing the building was made to Mrs. Keiser from the staff of Lincoln House. Music was furnished by the Lincoln House Chorus under the direction of Miss S. Geneva Cross, supervisor of music in the Lincoln House program.

The assembly room was decorated with flowers. Letters of congratulation were read and the chairman of the Interracial Committee, the Reverend William Cutler, brought greetings from the Ministers' Association and the social organizations of the city.

Lincoln House is the result of sixteen months of planning. The idea to secure and equip a community center was born in the Council for Adult Education when funds from state and federal relief departments were being allocated the county. A study of the social conditions among Negroes was made and among the recommendations was one to provide a community center where the people of both races may work, plan and play together for the welfare of the city. The building now being occupied was leased four months ago and repaired and renovated by L. W. D. labor. The house is completely equipped to promote a social, educational, and recreational program and its activities are opened to all people living in its neighborhood. The Interracial Committee, under which auspices and supervision this Community House has been developed, was organized in March, 1934, and has thirty members. The

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work of the committee has been conducted in the Pottsville Mission House, the African M.E. Church, the Y.W.C.A. and the Patterson school building. The activities in industrial arts among men were held in the basement of a house adjacent to the Center building.

The program, as operated during the past sixteen months, consisted of a kindergarten for children from unemployed homes, instruction in music and dramatic arts, home management and economics, industrial arts, recreation, general education for adults, and a vacation school. Ten workers have carried forward the program, five of them college graduates and specialists in their fields. A conference on economic problems in the anthracite region has been held and a study of unemployment in the business and domestic areas of the city has been undertaken. The supervisors assist the relief office, have found employment for workers, and serve as co-ordinators in the school system. The committee has collected data on housing and will present plans to clear the area in which Lincoln House is located, and seek low-cost houses.

The following is the staff of the Lincoln House: Irving K. Merchant, executive secretary; Mabel Cheeks McKay, assistant secretary; Marshall J. Tyree, industrial arts teacher; William E. Harvey, recreation director; Miss S. Geneva Cross, instructor in music and dramatic arts; Mrs. Edith Foster, kindergarten worker; Mrs. Marion G. Hunter, health instructor and physical education director; William H. Taylor, custodian; Miss Georgia Patterson, supervisor in home economics.

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